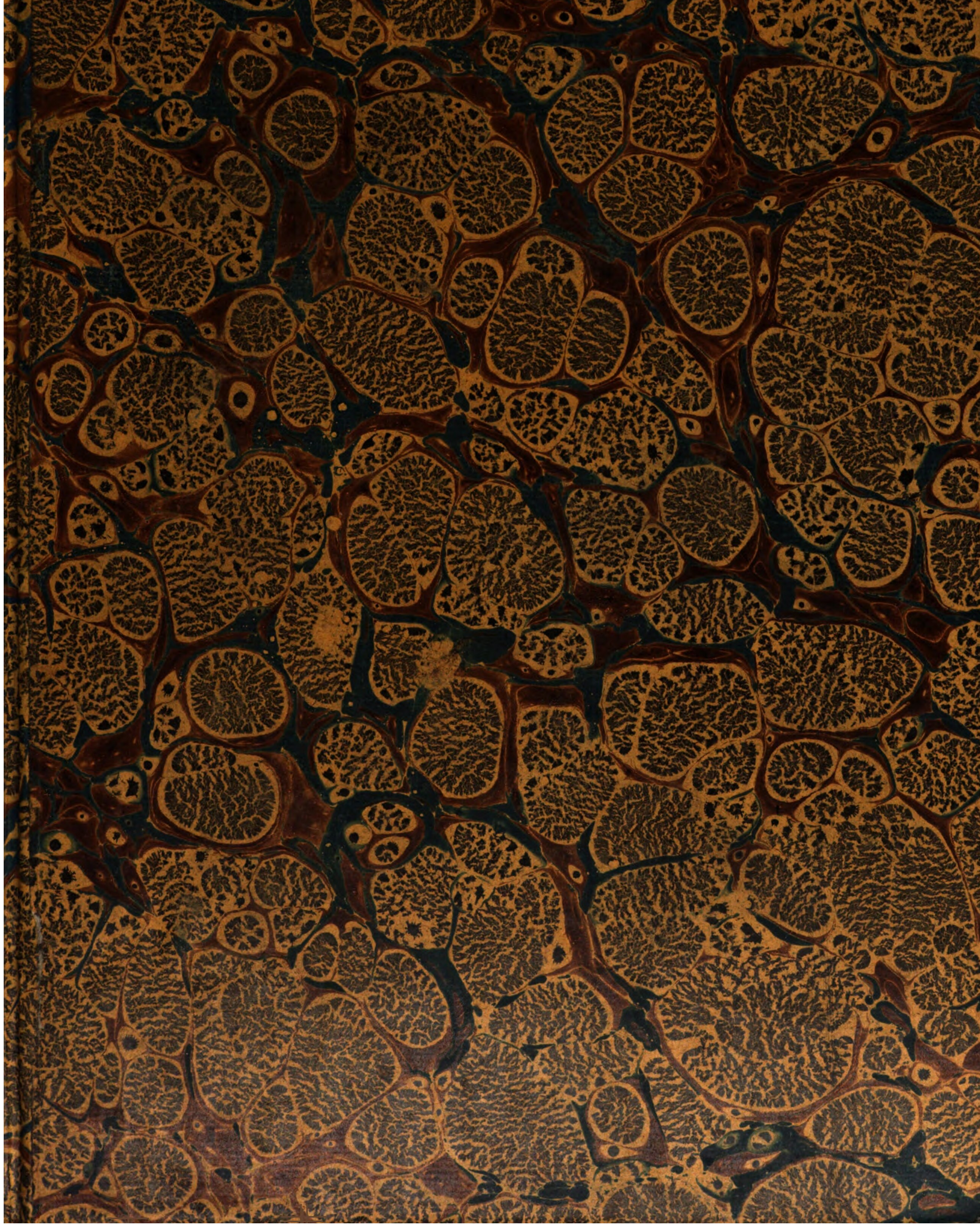




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M E M O I R S
OF
JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN DUKE OF MANTONBOROUGH.







John Duke of Marlborough

*Engraved by W. Bond, from an Original Portrait,
Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
In the possession of Earl Spencer.*

MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

WITH HIS
ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE:

COLLECTED
FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS AT BLENHEIM,

AND
OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

ILLUSTRATED
WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND MILITARY PLANS.

BY WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.
ARCHDEACON OF WILTS.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1818.



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WITH

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

AND

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS AT WINDHURST

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BY

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

ARCHBISHOP OF WHITH

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER ROW.

1818.



*His Grace, George Spencer Churchill, Duke of
according to the Royal Patent granted in 181,*

ugh.



*Arms of His Grace, George, Spencer, Churchill, Duke of Marlborough
according to the Royal Patent granted in 1817.*

TO

HIS GRACE

GEORGE SPENCER CHURCHILL,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

PRINCE OF

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE,

MARQUESS OF BLANDFORD,

EARL OF SUNDERLAND,

BARON SPENCER OF WORM-LEIGHTON,

AND

BARON CHURCHILL OF SANDRIDGE.

TO

HIS GRACE

GEORGE SPENCER CHURCHILL

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

PRINCE OF

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

MARQUESS OF BLANDFORD

EARL OF SUNDERLAND

BARON SPENCER OF WORM-LEIGHTON

AND

BARON CHURCHILL OF SANDRIDGE

MY LORD;

IT was my intention to publish this Work under the Auspices of your noble Father, both as a Testimony of Respect to him, and as a Tribute of Gratitude, for his liberal Communication of the family Records preserved at BLENHEIM. In consequence of his lamented loss, I have now to acknowledge a similar Obligation to your Grace, for confirming to me the use of those valuable Documents.

To your Grace, therefore, I have the Honour of inscribing these Memoirs, as the Representative of that great Man, from whom you derive the Title of Marlborough, and the Possession of Blenheim; and to whose Memory you have recently given a Proof of Veneration, by assuming the Name and Arms of Churchill.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's

Obedient and obliged Servant,

Salisbury,
March 1, 1818.

WILLIAM COXE.

MY LORD,

It was my intention to publish this Work under the Auspices of your noble Father, both as a Testimony of Respect to him, and as a Tribute of Gratitude, for his liberal Communication of the family Records preserved at Blenheim. In consequence of his lamented loss, I have now to acknowledge a similar Obligation to your Grace, for continuing to me the use of those valuable Documents.

To your Grace, therefore, I have the Honour of inscribing these Memoirs, as the Representative of that great Man, from whom you derive the Title of Marlborough, and the Possession of Blenheim; and to whose Memory you have recently given a Proof of Veneration, by assuming the Name and Arms of Churchill.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's

Obedient and obliged Servant,

WILLIAM COKE.

Notary
March 1, 1818.

P R E F A C E.

IT is a singular fact, that no authentic Life of JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH has been given to the public, especially when we reflect on the abundance of original and interesting documents preserved in the family records.

Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, indeed, collected and compiled numerous materials for the Life of her illustrious husband, and consigned the task to Messrs. Glover and Mallet, who were then conspicuous in the literary world. She intrusted to their care her valuable materials, and assigned by will the sum of one thousand pounds, to the author, or authors, of a History of the Duke of Marlborough; but clogged the bequest with a condition, that the work should be approved by her executors, and even added the whimsical injunction, that it should not contain a single line of verse.

Glover declined the undertaking, and Mallet never commenced the work. On his death, therefore, the papers which had been intrusted to him, were restored to the family, and being, with others of no less value, deposited at Blenheim, were regularly arranged by order of the late Duke.

Although accident and caprice prevented the great actions of the Duke of Marlborough from being displayed in their proper light, he could not pass uncelebrated either by his own or by

subsequent ages. We have accordingly many narratives of his Life, printed in the various languages of Europe, and differing in merit and authenticity.

The earliest of these productions is a biographical sketch, concluding with 1713, the year in which it was printed; and is accompanied with a Life of Prince Eugene. It is anonymous, but is dedicated to his son in law, the Duke of Montagu, and exhibits evident proofs that the author had served under the command of Marlborough, and shared his confidence.

The next is that of Ledyard, in three volumes octavo, printed in 1736. The writer was patronised by the Duke, attended him during his journey into Saxony, and appears to have been a diligent observer. This work, which is principally compiled from Gazettes and other periodical publications, is minute in military details, and as authentic as the means of the author permitted. But although Ledyard has introduced a few original letters, he was unable to obtain access to more private documents; and, therefore, is frequently mistaken in tracing the motives of action, even in the field, and still more in developing the secrets of the cabinet.

In 1738, a Life of the Duke of Marlborough, in the dutch language, was given to the public, by Abraham de Vryer, which was principally drawn from Ledyard, with some additions from the dutch and french writers. It forms four volumes small octavo.

In 1742 appeared, in two volumes duodecimo, "The History of John Duke of Marlborough, and of Francis Eugene, Prince of Savoy," written with perspicuity and spirit, but containing few material facts, which had escaped the researches of preceding biographers.

Another Life, in one volume, was published by a German

writer which is only a brief compilation from the foregoing works.

We have lastly to mention a recent publication, which made a considerable sensation in France and England, because it was written by order of Bonaparte, and was supposed to contain several notes from his own pen. It is intituled, "*Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough*," and printed at the Imprimerie Imperiale, in 1805.

This History is composed in a pleasing, lively, and perspicuous style, and the military operations are detailed with distinctness and precision. The author has drawn the substance of his narrative from our countryman, Ledyard. He has certainly spared no pains in consulting and comparing the writers of all countries, though he is not more fortunate than Ledyard, in tracing the motives of action, or in developing the intrigues of the cabinet; and for the same reason, namely, that he had access to no unpublished documents. He was fully sensible of this deficiency, and acknowledged it with laudable candour, when, in presenting a copy of his work to the late Duke of Marlborough, he solicited information from the family papers. *

* We have thought proper to give this letter, as written in english, by the french author.

"My Lord Duke;— Paris, 4th Sept., 1808.

"I take the liberty to present your Grace with a copy of my history of your illustrious Ancestor, the immortal Duke of Marlborough. I have undertaken this work by the express order of the emperor Napoleon, a warm admirer of that great man, and far superior to national prejudices. The studied neglect with which the hero of Blenheim had been hitherto treated by french historians, excited his surprise and indignation. However arduous the task imposed on me, I endeavoured to go through it with the most scrupulous regard to truth and impartiality. The many faults and errors, which disfigure this first edition, have not escaped my notice. They are only to be attributed to a want of materials, which I hope and desire to come over in a second edition, already called for by the booksellers. I know well the defective parts of my work, but in the political and diplomatic scenes I sometimes strayed without either guide or documents. Should your grace be pleased to supply me with some new

Another work, ultimately connected with the subject of these Memoirs, must be particularly noticed :

“The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough,” written by Hooke the historian, under her inspection, from her own draughts and communications, and published in 1742, when she had attained the advanced age of eighty-two. This work embraces the period, from her first introduction at court, to the year 1710, and contains a curious, though often a partial detail, of the state of the court and parties, as well as of her long and intimate connection with her royal mistress.

A counter publication soon afterwards appeared, which was ascribed to Ralph, a violent tory writer, under the title of, “The other side of the Question.” But notwithstanding the acrimony with which he controverts the statements of the Duchess, and the partiality with which “The Conduct” is written, it has formed a text book for subsequent historians.

Several works on the military operations of our distinguished commander, have at different times been given to the public. Among them the most remarkable are “Dumont’s

lights, I would endeavour, by making a proper use of them, to add new lustre to the unparalleled merit of my hero. These materials may be entrusted to my friend Mr. Daniel M^c Carthy, who would transmit them most carefully to me, as well as any other commands from your grace. With such a treasure of new information, I would undertake, with the assistance of my worthy friend, Sir Herbert Croft, now at Amiens, to give an english edition of the work, from which many pages should disappear, to make room for the much more curious and important facts which your grace would be pleased to communicate.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“No. 12, Rue St. Florentine.”

“MADGETT.”

It is proper to observe, that although M. Madgett, interpreter for the marine and colonies, appears here as the sole author of the work, he was assisted in the composition by the Abbé Dutems, professor at the “College de France,” who died in 1811.

Military History of Eugene and Marlborough," with plans of battles and sieges, and "Brodrick's History of the late War in the Netherlands." Also the "Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough in the present War," published in 1712, originally written in our own language, and translated into French. Nor should I omit to notice a regular, though meagre Journal of his campaigns, compiled by Serjeant Milner, who served in the confederate army; and which, though minute and explicit with regard to the marches and military movements, exhibits no higher information, than might have been expected from the station of the writer.

Another work of superior merit, contains much military intelligence on the operations of Marlborough. It was published in 1747, from the posthumous papers of Brigadier-General Kane, an experienced tactician, and an eye witness; and has furnished much interesting matter on many transactions, particularly on the battle of Ramilies and the siege of Bouchain.*

While employed in writing my historical works, I not only sought in vain for an authentic account of the Duke of Marlborough; but I lamented as an Englishman, that no biographical monument had been raised to the memory of so great a general and statesman; and that his reputation had been left to the malice of party writers, and to the misrepresentations of ignorant or prejudiced historians. Under this impression, an accidental

* The title of this rare and curious work, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Lieutenant Colonel Rooke, is, "Campaigns of King William and the Duke of Marlborough; with Remarks on the Stratagems by which each Battle was lost or won, from 1689 to 1712. Also, a New System of Military Discipline for Foot, in Action; with the most essential Exercise for Cavalry. By the late Brigadier-General Richard Kane, Governor of Minorca."

conversation with lord Charles Spencer, led me to apply to the late Duke of Marlborough, for permission to examine the Documents at Blenheim, some of which I had formerly seen, while attached to the family. The application was received with kindness and complacency; and a nearer view of this rich collection strengthened my wish to become the biographer of his distinguished ancestor.

Three successive visits to Blenheim enabled me to examine and methodise the numerous materials, for a history which may be considered as truly national. How far I have succeeded in rendering justice to the subject, must be left to the candid and unbiassed decision of the public.

I shall, therefore, without farther apology, describe the plan of the Work, and specify the principal authorities on which it is founded.

My object was, not merely to exhibit the Duke of Marlborough as a general, but also as a statesman and negotiator. It was no less my wish to delineate his character as a man, and to exhibit those qualities of his mind and heart, which have either been misrepresented, or passed without notice.

In fulfilling my task, I have endeavoured to avoid an error, too common with biographers, who often hold forth the subject of their memoirs as a perfect being, like a hero of romance, without frailty or blemish. On the contrary, I have not hesitated to bring to light those failings with which the virtues and talents of the Duke of Marlborough were blended. In particular I have not attempted to conceal or palliate his clandestine correspondence with his former sovereign and benefactor. This intercourse, although misrepresented and exaggerated, in the garbled pages of Macpherson and Dalrymple, is an

historical fact, too well authenticated, to be either controverted or denied. I have, however, scrutinized his views and motives, and I trust have shewn that he never entertained a serious wish for the restoration of James the second or the pretender; but that, in common with many other persons of all ranks and conditions, he was merely anxious to secure a pardon, in case of a counter revolution.

In fact, it is no more than justice to the memory of this great man, to declare, that amidst the papers in the archives of Blenheim, which have been submitted to my inspection, without reserve or limitation, not a single hint occurs of any correspondence with the exiled family. Even in the numerous letters to lord Godolphin and the duchess, which are written in the full confidence of friendship and affection, and pourtray every feeling of his mind, not the most distant allusion can be traced, which malice itself could construe into an evidence of infidelity towards his sovereign and country.

This fact is a decisive proof that his overtures to the exiled family were never serious. Had he fostered a sincere, though latent attachment to the Stuart race, it must have displayed itself either directly or indirectly, in his long and intimate correspondence with his friend and colleague, lord treasurer Godolphin. On the contrary, however, we observe a perpetual anxiety for the maintenance of the protestant succession, a steady attachment to the glory and welfare of England, and an undiminished zeal for the humiliation of the french monarch, on whom the dethroned family placed their sole hopes of restoration.

In the materials to which I have had recourse, I may deem myself particularly fortunate. Nothing perhaps shews the character of an individual, and his true motives of action, more

than his confidential letters, which were neither expected or intended to meet the public eye. Of this kind is the greater part of the Duke's correspondence, consisting principally of his private communications with the Duchess, and the Treasurer. To bring, therefore, these Memoirs, as nearly as possible, to that species of biography, which is at once the most interesting and instructive, I have endeavoured to render him his own historian, by adopting on every important occasion his unaffected and expressive language, and blending his correspondence with the narrative.

The papers preserved at Blenheim form the foundation of the work, and consist of so great a mass of materials, that it would require a volume merely to enumerate the titles. I shall therefore specify only the most remarkable.

1. The letters of the Duke of Marlborough, written in his own hand, to his Duchess and to Lord Godolphin. This correspondence, for value, interest, and extent, is almost unparalleled; and it seems scarcely credible, that a general charged with such a variety of occupations, political, and military, should have found leisure to give so minute and frequent a detail of his sentiments, plans, operations, and arrangements. The series commences with the year 1701, when he accompanied king William to Holland, and ends in 1711.

2. The official, and other letters of a confidential kind, to different persons, both at home and abroad.

3. His letters to foreign sovereigns and ministers.

4. His correspondence with the queen, which contains the most valuable information on the secrets of the cabinet, and throws a new light on their respective characters. It chiefly consists of copies and draughts, in his own hand, or in that of the duchess.

5. The letters of the prime minister, lord treasurer Godolphin, written in his own hand, and equal in point of number and interest to those of his coadjutor.

6. Numerous letters from the different sovereigns of Europe, and their chief ministers, both of an official and private nature. Among these we may particularly point out to notice, those of the emperors Leopold, Joseph, and Charles, the king of Prussia, the duke of Savoy, the electoral family of Hanover, prince Eugene, and the imperial, prussian, swedish, and dutch ministers.

7. The diplomatic correspondence of Marlborough with the british ambassadors and agents in the different courts of Europe, containing an ample and original detail of public negotiations and private transactions.

8. Plans, projects, journals, and narratives relating to military affairs, too numerous to particularise. To those from which information has been drawn, a reference is usually given in the text.

9. The papers of the Duchess are last specified, as deserving particular attention. Of her letters to the Duke, lord Godolphin, and other friends, only a few have been preserved, because she appears to have rigorously exacted their destruction ; but we are enabled to trace the subjects and tone of her correspondence, from the replies of the duke and the treasurer. She has, however, made amends for the loss of her own letters, by numerous narratives, remarks, and deductions, on all the transactions in which she or her husband were interested. These compositions, although tinged with her prejudices and passions, yet contain information which we might elsewhere seek in vain. Many were written for her own vindication, and are condensed in the Justification of her Conduct, which she published towards the close of her life, and many for the information of her particular friends. Several

also owe their existence to her solicitude for the fame of her husband, and were evidently intended for the use and information of the author to whom she consigned the task of writing his Life. Besides these, there are two compilations on the domestic transactions of the family, which incidentally furnish several anecdotes relative to the Duke of Marlborough. To one, which is bound in green vellum, I have alluded, under the name of the Green Book.

Her confidential correspondence with her royal mistress, forms a valuable portion of her papers. The letters of the queen appear to have been preserved with peculiar care, and though the originals of the duchess are chiefly destroyed or lost, she made copies of many, which relate to the most intimate period of their intercourse. This correspondence has enabled us to trace the rise, progress, and decline of that singular favour which she so long enjoyed. Although imperfect, it has also afforded the means of detecting many inaccurate, partial, and garbled accounts in her own Vindication, as well as in our national historians, both contemporary and subsequent.

10. The letters of lord Godolphin to the Duchess, though comparatively few, are yet highly valuable, as proving the influence which she exercised over his mind, and the share she took in the political transactions of the day.

The archives of Blenheim contain the collections of Charles earl of Sunderland, in whose posterity the title of Marlborough now remains. Their value may be estimated from the important part which he acted in the political drama, and his intimate connections with the family of the Duke.

Other documents, which we have not room to specify, will be occasionally referred to in the course of the work.

Amidst this vast mass of materials it was not possible to inter-

weave even the greater part of the letters and papers which I found interesting. It was necessary to set some bounds to selection ; and I have therefore confined myself to those which exhibit some peculiar characteristic, or were necessary to elucidate the narrative. For the same reason I have inserted only a few extracts from those letters of the Duke, which have been already published by the Duchess, Dalrymple, Macpherson, Ledyard, and others.

I have now to fulfil the grateful task of acknowledging my obligations to those who have kindly promoted and facilitated my labours.

In this enumeration, I must again testify my gratitude to the late duke of Marlborough, for the liberal manner in which his grace committed the family records to my use, without the slightest control or reserve.

I have likewise to acknowledge a similar obligation to the present duke, for continuing this indulgence, and for the interest which his grace has been pleased to manifest in my undertaking.

To lord Churchill, for his unremitting attentions during my stay at Blenheim, for his zeal in promoting my researches, as well as for the communication of several papers, written by Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, which were consigned to him by his mother, the late Duchess. Among these I may particularly mention a manuscript volume in folio, written by a gentleman of the name of St. Priest, under the inspection of the Duchess, while she remained abroad. It is an early draught of the work, afterwards published under the name of "The Conduct."

To the honourable George Agar Ellis, for his aid on many occasions, in illustrating the history of the hero from whom he is descended.

To earl Spencer, for some interesting communications relative to his noble family. †

To her grace the duchess of Buccleugh, for granting access to the Shrewsbury papers, containing many valuable documents, which either directly or indirectly throw a light on the subject of this work. Besides a few original letters from the duke of Marlborough, they consist of the interesting correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury with king William, Robert earl of Sunderland, lord Somers, and the whig leaders, and comprise a series of letters from Mr. Secretary Vernon to his patron, the duke of Shrewsbury, between 1696 and 1706.

Having testified my obligations to the immediate descendants of John Duke of Marlborough, I cannot in sufficient terms acknowledge the condescension of their imperial highnesses the archdukes John and Louis. In their passage through Salisbury, they honoured me with a visit, as the historian of the House of Austria; and not only testified the interest which they took in all my works, but offered me their powerful aid, in procuring transcripts of such documents as might be found in the archives of Vienna, or in other collections abroad. They graciously fulfilled their promise, by forwarding to me copies of numerous letters written by the duke of Marlborough to the emperors Leopold, Joseph, and Charles, as well as to prince Eugene and to counts Sinzendorf and Wratislaw. These communications have essentially elucidated and enriched my narrative.

To lord viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, I have to express my thanks, for granting me access to the valuable correspondence in the State Paper Office. From this collection I have drawn much information, particularly from the volumes containing the official correspondence of the duke of Marlborough with the secretaries of state, and the dispatches from the british ambassadors and envoys in foreign courts to their own government. I have thus been enabled to supply occasional chasms in

the correspondence of the duke, and to explain many public transactions, which could have been elucidated from no other source.

Also, to the right honourable John Hiley Addington, under secretary of state for the home department, for his obliging interposition, and for repeated proofs of friendship, on this and many other occasions.

I have again the satisfaction of repeating my obligations to my noble friend the earl of Hardwicke, for the use of his valuable collection; and particularly for several letters from Mr. Secretary Harley, and the interesting diary of lord chancellor Cowper.

To the duke of Somerset, for some letters of captain Bonnel, who served several campaigns under the duke of Marlborough, and has given a specific account of the march through Germany, as well as some interesting facts relative to the battle of Oudenard.

To lord Dynevor, for favouring me with the inspection of the papers left by his lordship's ancestor, Adam de Cardonnel, esq., the confidential secretary of the duke of Marlborough. As the duke was not in the habit of writing french, though he spoke it fluently, this intelligent gentleman was intrusted with the principal management of the foreign correspondence, under the direction of his grace. He also prepared many of the english dispatches; and frequently wrote the rough draughts of others, which the duke had not leisure to compose: he was, besides, the channel of the most secret communications. Hence this collection contains numerous and interesting materials, which it is needless to particularize, because reference is made to such as have been consulted in the narrative.

I am indebted to the late Louis Montolieu, esq., for the voluntary transmission of two journals, kept by his grandfather,

Louis baron de Montolieu, and his great uncle, the baron de Montolieu St. Hippolite, who were both generals in the service of the duke of Savoy, and enjoyed his confidence. These documents have supplied me with some curious anecdotes relative to the campaigns in Italy, and the relief of Turin; as well as an interesting narrative from count Maffei to the duke of Savoy, describing the battle of Oudenard.

To Hans Sloane, esq., for obtaining the use of the papers and documents left by lord Cadogan, quarter-master-general of the army, the favourite and confident of Marlborough, who figured in all his campaigns, and was justly famous for activity and professional skill.

To the Rev. George May, chaplain to the late duke of Marlborough, for selecting the papers from the archives at Blenheim, and for his continued and zealous aid, during the progress of the work.

To Sir George Naylor, York herald, for his valuable assistance in tracing the genealogy of the Churchills; and for much information respecting the armorial bearings of the family, as well as for the copies of the three patents, which are printed in the Appendix.

To Charles Bowles, esq., of Shaftesbury, for his laborious researches and valuable aid, in tracing the genealogy of the Churchill family.

To the bavarian minister at the british court, M. de Pfeffel, for obtaining considerable information on the subject of the principality of Mindelheim, and particularly for his interposition with the count de Montgelas, principal minister of the king of Bavaria, who gave orders for various communications from the royal archives, in the heraldic and geographical departments.

To convey a just idea of military operations, requires an acquaintance both with the practice and theory of war; and I

should have scarcely ventured to enter minutely into a subject foreign to my profession, without the co-operation of an able officer. The acknowledgments due to such an assistant, I have to offer to major Smith, author of "The History of the Seven Years War," and late of the quarter master general's department.

To this intelligent officer I am indebted for much general information on subjects connected with his profession, and particularly for the communication of his elaborate memorials on the signal victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenard, and Malplaquet, from which I have principally drawn my descriptions.

As the plans of these battles were constructed under his inspection, I may, without incurring the imputation of vanity, venture to flatter myself that they will be found no way inferior to any thing of the kind yet given to the public. Professional men will best estimate their accuracy, and those who have no insight into military affairs, need only compare them with the plans hitherto published, to appreciate their value.*

To captain Freeth, of the quarter master general's department, I am indebted for much useful assistance on military subjects, and for the plan of the operations on the Danube during the splendid campaign of 1704, as well as for that of the attack on the french lines in 1705.

In enumerating a list of those who have contributed their aid, it would be injustice not to repeat my grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Hatcher, my late secretary, now postmaster of Salisbury, for his able and indefatigable exertions, in preparing these Memoirs for the press.

I shall close this Preface with a few explanatory remarks.

Many of the letters are without date, and others are distin-

* At the close of this preface will be found a memorandum, drawn up by Major Smith, on the principles adopted in the construction of these plans.

guished only by the name of the month or day of the week. The greater part of the correspondence between the duke, the duchess, and lord Godolphin, is also mingled with cyphers, to which there is no key; and the cyphers were evidently changed several times. In all these cases I have endeavoured to ascertain the dates and names, and have generally succeeded. With regard to the cyphers, whenever I could appropriate them with certainty, I have omitted the figures; and where I was doubtful, I have either annexed the cypher to my explanation, or left it unexplained.

In regard to the dates, the difference between the old and new style has occasioned some perplexity. All the letters from the queen, Godolphin, and the duchess are in the old style, to which I have occasionally added the new; but the two styles being frequently intermingled in those of the duke, I marked the new style, wherever I could ascertain that the old was used.

I deem it necessary to apprise the reader, that the principal part of the correspondence is taken from the records at Blenheim, to which specific references are omitted, as superfluous; but the papers from other collections are, in most instances, indicated. All the letters from foreign sovereigns and ministers are translated from the originals, which are chiefly written in the french language.

It may, perhaps, appear unnecessary to apologize for the adoption of the modern orthography, in the correspondence, which is interwoven in the narrative. The duke of Marlborough lived in an age when little attention was paid to the minor departments of grammar; and he, like his friend Eugene, wrote with the carelessness of a soldier, not with the precision of a man of letters. To have given literal transcripts of his epistles, would have afforded little gratification to those who look rather to things than to words, and who are more anxious to be acquainted with his thoughts than with his orthography. Besides,

in point of taste, it would be useless to urge how much the pages of an historical narrative would have been disfigured by variations in spelling, arising from haste and inattention, from the careless habit of the times, or from long residence abroad. This innovation is, however, merely literal; for the language of the letters, in all cases, is scrupulously preserved.

To satisfy curiosity, I have given two *Fac-Similes* from the hand-writing of the duke of Marlborough; one of which is evidently a hasty draught of a letter to lord Godolphin, and the other the celebrated note, which he wrote in pencil, announcing the victory of Blenheim. These will sufficiently shew the peculiarities of his orthography.

It was my intention to have published the whole Work at the same time; but as a considerable period has elapsed since the commencement of the undertaking, and as the labour of extracting and digesting such a mass of materials far exceeded my original calculation, I was induced to print the first volume separately. The remainder is, however, in such forwardness, that the second volume will appear in May; and I anticipate the accomplishment of the Work, before the close of the present year.

in point of taste, it would be useless to urge how much the pages of an historical narrative would have been disfigured by variations in spelling, arising from haste and inattention, from the careless habit of the times, or from long residence abroad. This innovation is, however, merely literal; for the language of the letters, in all cases, is scrupulously preserved.

To satisfy curiosity, I have given two fac-similes from the hand-writing of the duke of Marlborough; one of which is evidently a hasty draught of a letter to lord Godolphin, and the other the celebrated note, which he wrote in pencil, announcing the victory of Blenheim. These will sufficiently shew the peculiarities of his orthography.

It was my intention to have published the whole Work at the same time; but as a considerable period has elapsed since the commencement of the undertaking, and as the labour of extracting and digesting such a mass of materials far exceeded my original calculation, I was induced to print the first volume separately. The remainder is, however, in such forwardness, that the second volume will appear in May; and I anticipate the accomplishment of the Work, before the close of the present year.

As the style of the present volume is more than ordinarily elegant, and as it is intended to be a permanent possession, I have been particularly anxious to secure the most perfect execution. I have, therefore, been very particular in the choice of the paper, and in the selection of the type, and in the arrangement of the matter. I have also been very particular in the choice of the printer, and in the execution of the work. I have, therefore, been very particular in the choice of the printer, and in the execution of the work. I have, therefore, been very particular in the choice of the printer, and in the execution of the work.

*Memorandum on the Construction of the Maps and Plans
furnished by Major Smith.*

The following mode has been adopted with regard to the Maps and Plans, which it was necessary to re-construct, in order to render the narratives of the military operations intelligible.

The first which became the object of critical scrutiny was, the plan of the attack on the entrenched camp of Schellenberg. Geographical engineers and military draughtsmen can readily discover when the topographical representation of a portion of ground bears evidence of accuracy. In this respect all the printed plans in Dumont and his copyers betrayed a want of fidelity, and a new survey of the Danube proved the suspicion to be well-founded. Luckily, a manuscript plan, by a german officer, evidently present at the attack, was found among the Marlborough papers, designed with so much accuracy, in regard to the lines and first position, that after some slight corrections, it was adopted without reserve.

The battle of Blenheim was the next; and it was found a matter of some difficulty to construct a new plan, because no materials were extant, which embraced the whole field of battle, on a scale sufficiently enlarged. Recourse was, therefore, again had to the Survey of the Danube, which contained about half the space of ground, and to the great Survey of Germany, in 204 sheets. The former was reduced, and the latter expanded to the same scale. A trifling difficulty occurred in this process, relative to the position of the villages on the north; but all doubt was removed by the superb Plans of the Austrian Operations, in 1796, which were subsequently received. Upon this foundation the first positions, in a scarce engraved plan, compared with authentic documents in the Marlborough Papers, were designed;

and it was soon discovered, that what appeared obscure or unintelligible in the old draughts, became evident, when the movements or positions were transferred to a true representation of the locality. By the successive manœuvres of the several corps, their changes of position were easily determined. After the plan was finished, an original survey of the ground was received from the Bavarian quarter master general's department; and it was satisfactory to find, that with the trifling exception of the mouth of a rivulet, no correction was required.

The plan of operations between the Saar and Moselle is reduced from Cassini, and the positions marked from a manuscript in the Marlborough Collection.

The original engraved plan of the battle of Ramilies, which will appear in the second Volume, was drawn by a dutch staff officer; but without pretensions to accuracy, as he was only partially acquainted with the scene of action. An original survey in his majesty's library was therefore compared with an enlarged plan taken from Feraris; and the character of the ground was laid down from reconnoitrings in the vicinity, and the accounts of several authors.

Nearly the whole site of the battle of Oudenard has undergone personal examination. To the recollections which it inspired, the description of the surrounding country is principally owing. The notes taken on the spot, compared with the original plan by captain Bruckman, an engineer in the service of the elector of Hanover, and present at the battle, and a memoir by the same officer in the king's library, together with an enlarged sketch from Feraris, have served for the construction of the new plan.

The plan of the movements of Marlborough, during the siege of Lille is chiefly drawn from Cassini and Feraris; and the positions indicated from the letters and papers of the british commander,

The general view of the opérations, from the surrender of Tournay to the battle of Malplaquet, which will be inserted in the third Volume, is copied and reduced from Feraris and Cassini, and corrected from notes taken on the spot.

The plan of the battle of Malplaquet, is drawn from a superb plan in the king's library, compared with those of captain Bruckman and others, as well as with an excellent sketch of the vicinity of Mons, from the Austrian quarter master general's department. It was corrected and improved from a personal examination of part of the field of battle, and with the preceding, may, therefore, be pronounced accurate, even in the minutest details.

The general view of the operations, from the surrender of Tournay to the battle of Malplaquet, which will be inserted in the third Volume, is copied and reduced from Fagnier and Cassini, and corrected from notes taken on the spot.

The plan of the battle of Malplaquet, is drawn from a superb plan in the king's library, compared with those of captain Bruckman and others, as well as with an excellent sketch of the vicinity of Mons, from the Austrian quarter-master general's department. It was corrected and improved from a personal examination of part of the field of battle, and with the preceding, may, therefore, be pronounced accurate, even in the minutest details.

His Majesty's library, which has been a great advantage to me, has been the source of many valuable acquisitions, and it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the assistance of the librarian, Mr. [Name], in the selection of the works which have been consulted in the preparation of this work. The plan taken from the king's library, and the sketch of the vicinity of Mons, from the Austrian quarter-master general's department, are particularly valuable.

Mr. [Name] has undertaken the task of translating the French text into English, and it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the assistance of the librarian, Mr. [Name], in the selection of the works which have been consulted in the preparation of this work. The plan taken from the king's library, and the sketch of the vicinity of Mons, from the Austrian quarter-master general's department, are particularly valuable.

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*The simile of a draught, from the Earl of Marlborough to Lord Godolphin,
written in 1701.*

I came hether this day from Lov, and found yours
of the 29 ~~of the last month~~ ^{page 40e much to say that} I long extreamly to be
with you, and I think it is the Kings intentions
I shoud, come, however to make it secure, then you
answer this letter, which I desire you woud writt
soe as that I might have noe difficulty in showing
it to the King, that you cant doubt for the Kings
service, as well as your own satisfaction, that he
will bring mee with him, I say all this because
I know y^e has a mind to have mee stay some time
after the King, but if this you must take noe
notice, for the King says nothing to mee of
it; the reason why I wish to have you write
your answer to this letter such as I might shew
the King, is that, if you doe approve of my thoughts
which I shall now tell you, is that I woud make
use of it to strengthen mee for it her wait we are
more likely to be in confusion then any thing
else, for there is noe application made here but for
a new part: and I confesse for the King, and Kingdoms
 sake I wish this may meet and make good what the
king has done pursuant to there address, for the
good of the common cause, and to the end they might
doe soe, my opinion is that they might ^{meet} the 30th of ^{the} 11th.

next, which will be a fortnight, before the two months,
for the Negotiations will be at an end, I mean the time
prefixt in the Treaty with the Emperor and this State
in which fortnight I would have them declare them-
selves very clearly, as that ~~what the~~ the French might
be disheartened which would make the whole Empire
declare in favour of the Common Cause. in order
to this I would have the King speak very plainly
to them, and acquaint them with every thing
he had done since their last Meeting, I mean the
Treaty with Denmark, the Emperor, and Sweden
if we can possibly gett one as above one with this
State, which as yet I am not master enough of the
Particulars to acquaint you with, but you may
be sure the King will observe the same method
in that, as in this of the Emperor by doing nothing,
without communicating it to the Lords Justices, ~~and~~
and for any other Treaty, I am confident there
will be nothing sign'd till we have been some
time in England, one thing more I should lett you
know that as to the denombrement which I take
to be the most Substantiall part of the Treaty
with the Emperor, I shall take care to have
the numbers ^{settled} ~~the~~ Emperor, and the Dutch, shall be
oblig'd to provide, but as to what England are to
furnish, that I would have the Part: I declare which
it be before the 1st of Nov: for then the Convention is
denombrement Sign'd, when they have

approved of the treaty, and settled the Denouement
I am not so unreasonable, as to think of washing
blackamore white, for I know matter will prevail
and the Party will be angry, but I can't but hope
that our friends will be so wise as to let the
see, that ^{they} will stand by the King and do their
to oppose the Exorbitant power of France, by
they will ~~grow~~ increase their party, and
have more power with his Majesty.

Now that I have told you that I could wish I must
tell you, what I think is very evident, that if they
should not do what I have mention'd, by the 15
Nov: which is the time we are to joyn with the
Emperor, and yet that the King should be oblig'd
to call a new Parli: I think all England would blame
them, or see should be undone; for in my poor
opinion if the Parli: does not come hastily into this
business, the Emperor, and the Dutch will be oblig'd
to make their conditions with France, the consequence
of which I need not mention if I am in the
wrong of this matter you will let me know
it, or how far I am in the right, but whatever
you think of it pray let nobody know as from me
any thing of this, unless it be so.

as I have told you at the beginning of my letter

I wish my self with all my hart with you, for
it is impossible by writting for mee to make you
comprehend every thing as I find them here; I have
come up to the King about the alterations,
& after what you had sayde to me concerning
omissions & excuses & excuses in your letter of the
last month, I did not much presse him
on that particular, as to ~~the~~ ~~last~~ and the
other ~~last~~ he sayde that should be done, and for
the alterations in the two commissions he should
speake to you of that when he came to England,
~~on short I think~~ ~~he is resolved~~ in my opinion
if things goes to his mind all will be done;

DIRECTIONS FOR THE PLATES.

1. Arms of His Grace George Spencer Churchill, present Duke of Marlborough to precede the *Dedication*
2. Fac Simile of the Draught of a Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Lord Godolphin, without Date, but written from the Hague in 1701, beginning with, *I came hither this day* to follow the last page of the *Preface*
3. Fac Similes of the Hand-writing of King William and Queen Anne *ibid.*
4. General Shield of the Churchill Arms at the end of the *Introduction*
5. Portrait of John Duke of Marlborough, in armour to face *Chapter 1*
6. Portrait of Sarah (Jennings) Duchess of Marlborough *Page 11*
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In these Arms the attentive Reader will notice two variations:—1. The Tylle Arms in the second quartering exhibit three Trefoils, and the Wildiurde Arms in the third quartering are without a Bordure; whereas, in the other Coats, furnished by Sir G. Naylor, from the Herald's Office, which are the true Bearings, the Tylle Arms have no Trefoils, and the Wildiurde Arms are surrounded with a Bordure.

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ERRATUM.

By the uncertain use of the Old and New Style, I have, in page 76, erroneously placed the marriage of Lady Anne Churchill with Lord Spencer in January 1700-1; whereas, it should have been in January 1699-1700.

In these Arms the attentive Reader will notice two variations:—1. The Tyle Arms in the second quartering exhibit three Trefoils, and the Wildbore Arms in the third quartering are without a Bordure; whereas, in the other Coats, furnished by Sir G. Nayler, from the Herald's Office, which are the true Bearings, the Tyle Arms have no Trefoils, and the Wildbore Arms are surrounded with a Bordure.

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* By some inadvertence the latter part of this chapter was misnumbered, and the error runs through all the succeeding chapters. It is, however, of no consequence to the narrative, and is only called to the attention of the reader, that it may not appear as an omission.

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*Original Arms
of the Churchill Family.*

GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CHURCHILL FAMILY;

INCLUDING BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF JOHN CHURCHILL,
ESQ., AND SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, KNIGHT, THE
GRANDFATHER, AND FATHER OF THE DUKE OF MARL-
BOROUGH.

AS JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH owed his rise and distinction, not to the splendor of his ancestry, or family interest, but to his great achievements and personal merit, we shall not enter into a laboured investigation of his pedigree.

The Churchill family may, however, be traced from the conquest: Roger de Courcil, or Courselle, originally descended from the Courcils of Poitou, being one of the norman barons who accompanied the Conqueror to England, and shared the fruits

of his victory. In Domesday Book he appears under the name of Roger de Courselle, as proprietor of many lordships in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Salop. Among these is Corfeton or Corton, now a demesne in the parish of Portisham near Dorchester. His descendants afterwards spread into various branches, which may be traced, till the norman appellation was exchanged for that of Churchill. Of the branch which was particularly connected with the subject of these pages, was Sir Bartholomew de Churchill, who was seated in Somersetshire. He figured in the contest between Stephen and the empress Maud; and after bravely defending the castle of Bristol, at length fell in the cause of the king. Of this brave warrior an epitaph of uncertain date, has been preserved, which is printed in Ledyard.*

The possessions and honours, which the Churchill family had acquired, were, however, gradually diminished or lost, by the failure of male issue in the direct line, and the subdivision of property, by the marriages of the daughters.

In the 14th century we find the Churchills established in Devonshire, and intermarrying with several families of distinguished birth and property. In the reign of Henry the sixth, William, a lineal descendant of Sir Bartholomew, was seated at Rockbear, in the same county. Charles, the grandson of William, was distinguished as a warrior in the troubled reign of Edward the fourth. He fought under the banners of the Courtenays, earls of Devonshire, in the cause of that monarch, and continuing faithful after their defection, was much honoured with the royal notice. He left a son Thomas, who espoused Grace, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Tylle, of Tylle House.†

* Vol. 1, p. 4.

† Some authors speak of Tylle House as situated in Cornwall. I cannot, however, perceive any mention of it in the topographical accounts of that duchy; but I find Tylle House in the parish of Broad Clist, Devonshire, which, from its vicinity to the residence of the Churchills, is more likely to have been the seat of the gentleman whose daughter espoused Thomas Churchill.—It is now a farm house, and still bears the same name.

William, the son of Thomas, espoused Mary, daughter of Richard Cruse,* of Wicroft Castle, Devon, and left three sons, Roger, John, and William.

As the two younger sons are not directly connected with our subject, we shall only observe, that the first, John, obtained Corton, the antient possession of Roger de Courselle, and left two daughters, by whose marriages his property was conveyed into other families. Anne, the eldest, espoused Maximilian Mohun, esq. of Fleet, to whom she conveyed Corton; and Elizabeth, the younger, married Brian Williams, esq. William,† the other son, established himself at Dorchester; and left a son John, who is the founder of the line of Muston, and the ancestor from whom the different branches of the family in Dorsetshire are principally descended.

Roger, the eldest son of William Churchill, was settled at Catherston, near the borders of Devonshire. He espoused Joan, daughter and heiress of William Peverell, of Bradford Peverell, and widow of Nicholas Meggs.‡ In consequence of this match, we find his son Matthew, and his grandson Jasper, successively

* We have a collateral proof of the respectability of the Churchill family at this period, from their alliances with those of Cruse and Tylle, with whom the Wadhams, lords of Catherston, were likewise connected by marriage.

† Most genealogists confound these two sons, making William the proprietor of Corton, and John of Muston. The contrary, however, is evident from various documents. In the will of John, which is preserved in Doctors Commons, he calls himself John Churchill of Corton, gent. and mentions his brother William and his nephew John. It was proved March 12, 1599. We find also two deeds, the first executed 28 Elizabeth, 1586, between William Churchill of Dorchester and Hugh Chauntrel of Chauntmarel, for the purchase of the farm of Lufford, in the parish of Peddlehinton; and the second, dated 36 Eliz. 1594, between John Churchill of Corton, William Churchill of Dorchester, and George Smith of the same place, relative to certain messuages in Dorchester, Fordington, and Bradford Peverell. William died about 1602, as we find from his will, dated in March 1559, and proved Nov. 18, 1602, by his son John, his sole heir and executor.

In 1609, 6 James I., John, who is styled of Stinsford, obtained license for the alienation of Muston from Nicholas Bartlet, alias Hancock.

For the information derived from the documents here mentioned, I have to acknowledge my obligation to William Woods, esq. of the Heralds' College, and the rev. Mr. Churchill, of Colyton Row, Dorchester.

‡ Pedigree of the family of Meggs, in Hutchins's Dorset.

seated at Bradford Peverell. Jasper was the father of John Churchill, esq., who, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was proprietor of Newland,* in the parish of Wotton Glanville, Dorset, which had originally belonged to the noble family of Montacute. We afterwards discover him in possession of the mansion-house and estate of Great Mintern, in the neighbouring parish,† which were held by lease under the college of Winchester.

John embraced the profession of the law, became a member of the Middle Temple, and considerably improved his fortune by successful practice. The respectability of his family, joined to his professional celebrity, enabled him to form a matrimonial alliance with Sarah, daughter and coheiress of Sir Henry Winston,

* This estate was part of the manor of Shipton, under the appellation of Blackmore, and was granted in the 18th of Edward 1st to Simon de Montacute, ancestor of the earls of Salisbury, from whom it derived the additional distinction of Newland or Newton Montacute. It continued in the family, till the extinction of the male line in the person of Thomas Montacute. In 51 Edward 3rd, it was re-granted in tail to William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was possessed of it at his death in 1397, under the name of the Manor of Blackmore, called Newland. It was forfeited by the attainder of John de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, who was beheaded at Cirencester, in 1401, for an attempt to raise an insurrection in favour of Richard 2nd. It was restored to the family the 7th of Henry 6th, in the person of his son, Thomas, earl of Salisbury, a distinguished warrior, and after his death, in the same year, was granted to Richard Neville, who had espoused his only daughter and heiress, Alice, and who added to his other honours the title of earl of Salisbury. With the possessions of this family it continued, till the attainder of Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury, wife of Sir Richard de la Pole, in 1541. On that attainder it was valued at £.13 10s. 6d. Afterwards it was granted by queen Mary, in the 1st year of her reign, to Francis, second earl of Huntingdon, in virtue of his marriage with Catharine, one of the daughters and coheirs of Henry Pole, lord Montacute, son of the above mentioned Margaret, countess of Salisbury. By what means this property was subsequently transferred to the Churchills, we have not been able to ascertain, though Hutchins vaguely observes, that it came from the Gamages. The manor house still exists, but in a state of dilapidation. It is depicted, in outline, in Hutchins's Dorset, under the name of Round Chimnies, vol. 3, p. 289.

† Great Mintern was originally a possession of the abbey of Cerne, which was granted on the dissolution to the college of Winchester, and held under lease by the family of Collyer. From this family, which seems to have been connected by marriage with the Churchills, it was transferred in 1642 to John Churchill, as appears by the counter part of the lease, in the archives of the college. The lease was regularly renewed to the descendants of John, from 1642 to 1709.

of Standish, in Gloucestershire, whose descent was derived from the antient british chieftains, as well as from the norman followers of the conqueror.* He espoused, in second nuptials, Mary Allen, a lady whose family was settled at Wotton Glanville.†

At the commencement of the unfortunate contest between the king and parliament, John embraced the cause of the king, and on the fall of the monarchy was obliged to compound with the triumphant party, by paying a fine of £.440, for his estate at Newland. He died between 1654 and 1660,‡ as we find from the renewals of the lease,§ and was buried in the church of Great Mintern.

He left an only son, Winston, who was born in 1620,|| and received his christian name from his maternal grandfather,

* Pedigree in the Heralds' Office.

† The proof of this second marriage is drawn from her will, dated in 1675, in which she requests to be buried near the remains of her late husband, John Churchill, esq., if the permission of her son-in-law Sir Winston could be obtained; and if not, near her mother, Margaret Allen, in Glanville Wotton. She left legacies to her son-in-law, Sir Winston, and to the nephews and grandchildren of her husband.

For the discovery of this document, I am indebted to Charles Bowles, esq. of Shaftesbury.

Hutchins mentions a sepulchral inscription in the church of Mintern, dedicated by Mary Churchill, widow, to the memory of her husband, John Churchill, esq., who is said to have died April 16, 1652. This date appears to be incorrect, as it is antecedent to the renewal of the lease of Mintern, which was granted to him in 1654.

‡ I endeavoured to discover the date of his death, but was informed by the Rev. Mr. Frome, minister of Great Mintern, that the registers of that parish, for the period in question, had been destroyed. His place of sepulture, however, is proved by the will of his son, Winston, who desired to be buried in the same grave as his father, in the church of Great Mintern.

§ In 1654, the lease of Mintern was renewed with John Churchill, esq., and in 1660, with his son Winston Churchill.

For this and other communications on the subject, I am indebted to the Rev. H. Lee, Fellow of Winchester College.

|| According to Wood, Sir Winston Churchill was born in London. Ledyard, however, states his birth-place to have been Wotton Basset, which is evidently a mistake for Wotton Glanville, Dorset. By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Wickens, the register of Wotton Glanville has been searched, for some entry of his baptism, but without effect; and that of St. Martin's in the Fields, by the vicar, the Rev. Archdeacon Pott, with as little success. I am, however, inclined to adopt the opinion of Wood, as a contemporary, and an author of research.

Sir Henry Winston. After acquiring the rudiments of a learned education, he was sent, at the age of sixteen, to St. John's College, Oxford;* but left the university at the commencement of the struggle between the king and parliament, and followed the example of his father, in espousing the royal cause. Before he had attained his majority, he served in the king's army, as a captain of horse, and afterwards signalised himself at the battles of Lansdown and Roundway, as well as at the sieges of Taunton and Bristol. During the civil troubles, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake,† of Ash, in the parish of Musbury, Devonshire, who was allied to the noble families of Boteler, Leigh, and Villiers. Before the execution of the king, he retired to the mansion of his father in law. On the death of his father, he succeeded nominally to the family inheritance; but being loaded by the parliament, with the enormous fine of £. 4,446,‡ for his services to the royal cause, his estate was sequestered, and he continued to reside at Ash, where most of his children were born.

On the Restoration of Charles the second, the loyalty of Winston Churchill received its due reward. He recovered possession of his family estate at Mintern; and was gratified with the special grant of an augmentation to his arms,§ which conveys an honourable testimony to his loyalty and military services. In the first parliament of Charles the second, he served for the borough of Weymouth. Soon afterwards he received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed a commissioner of claims in Ireland, for

* By the favour of the Rev. B. Bandinell, principal librarian of the Bodleian Library, I have obtained the following entry of his matriculation:

1636 April 8 Winstonus Churchill Londin' fil. Johās Churchill de Glanville Wooton in com. tiō Gen. an. nat. 16.

† Sir John Drake was created a baronet in 1660. He is mentioned in a list of those who were to have been honoured with the order of the Royal Oak, which was proposed to be instituted after the Restoration. English Baronetage, v. 5, p. 276.

‡ Hutchins art. Wotton Glanville and Mintern.

§ This augmentation was a canton charged with the cross of St. George; and as a crest, a

judging the qualifications of those who had forfeited their estates. He is praised by the Irish historians, for the share he took in tranquillizing that country, then in a state of commotion.

Returning from Ireland, he was nominated one of the clerks comptrollers of the board of green cloth. As a staunch loyalist, he incurred the resentment of the popular party, and was vigorously attacked in parliament. He was at length driven from his post, to the regret of the king; but on the subsequent triumph of the court, he was reinstated, and retained his office till his death.

Sir Winston Churchill was not diverted from the pursuits of literature, by the events of his troubled life. He was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society; and may be classed among our historical writers, as the author of a political history of England, intituled "*Divi Britannici*," a work of more research, than interest or amusement. It however contains some heraldic information, particularly on the armorial bearings of the different sovereigns, and is replete with such principles as then distinguished the zealous champions of the prerogative.*

Notwithstanding the favour of the sovereign, and the income of his offices, he died in straitened circumstances; for he left his landed property to his widow, with a request that she would bequeath it to his third son, Charles, from whom he had derived pecuniary assistance. He seems to have partly owed his embarrassments to his loyalty, as we find in his will a legacy of certain arrears, due to him from the crown.

lion couchant, gardant, argent. He at the same time assumed a motto indicative of his services and his sufferings in the royal cause, "*Fiel pero desdichado*," Faithful but unfortunate. The reader will find this grant in the Appendix, with the new coat of Arms.

In other plates are exhibited the successive bearings of the Churchill family, and a general shield, as borne by John Duke of Marlborough.

* Among other maxims he asserted that the king was empowered to raise money without the consent of parliament. This obnoxious doctrine was so highly resented, that he found it necessary to expunge the passage, which accordingly does not appear in many copies of the work.

His death took place in March, 1688, and he was interred in his parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields, where a monument was raised to his memory.*

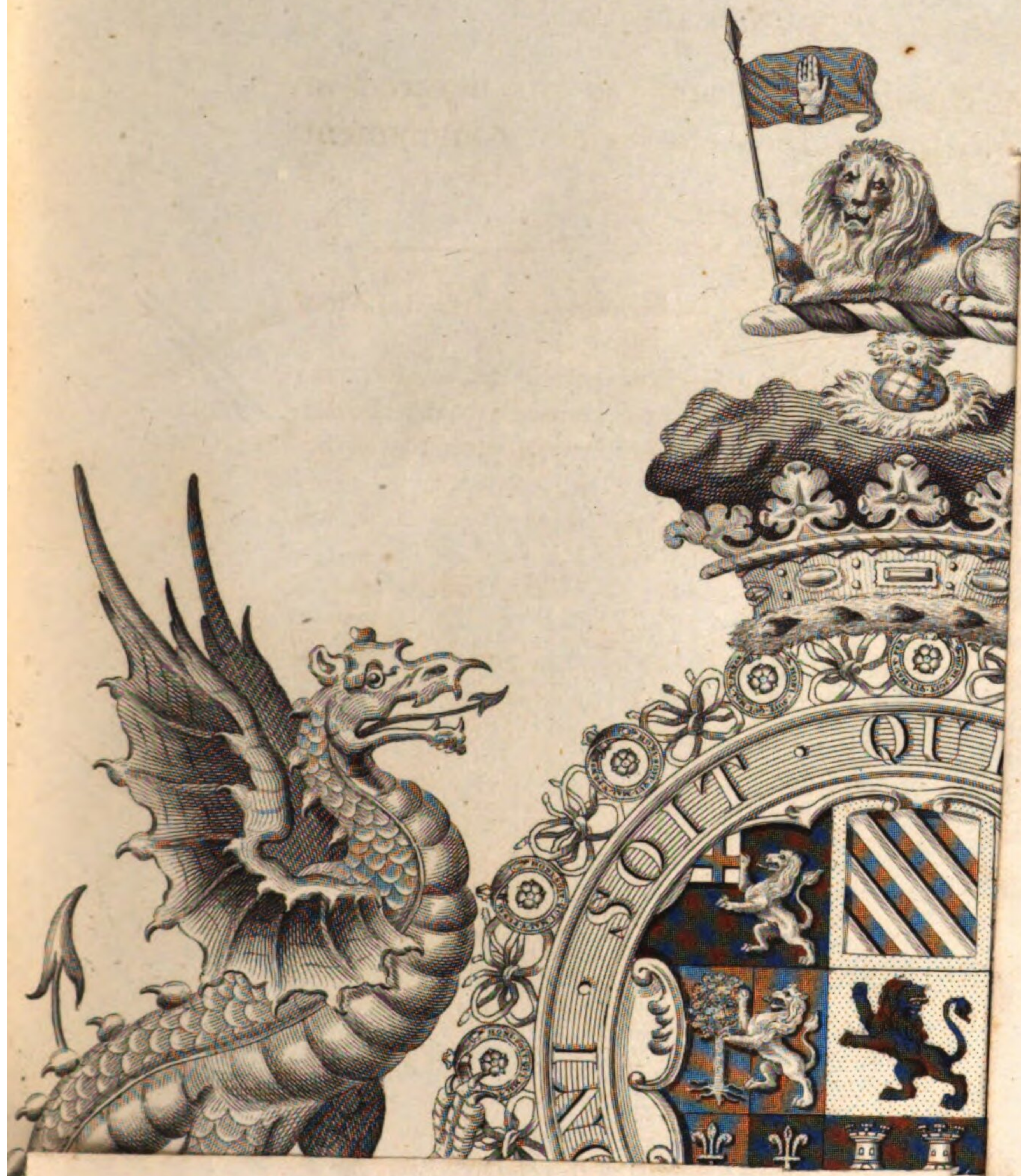
* From the entry of his burial in the parish register, communicated by the Rev. Archdeacon Pott.

The list of his children is given in page 34; but since that portion of the work was printed, I have discovered that his only daughter, Arabella, was baptised at Ash, Feb. 28, 1648, O. S. The entry thus appears in the parish register of Axminster, before that of her brother, John Duke of Marlborough:

“ Arabella Churchwell, daughter of Weston Churchwell, and Elisabeth his wyfe, was baptised in Aish Haulæ, the 28th of February, Anno Dom. 1648.”

For this communication, I am indebted to the researches of John Hussey, esq., of Salisbury.

[For this biographical account have been consulted Collins's Peerage—and others of more antient date—Ledyard—Biographia Britannica, art. Winston Churchill—Family Documents—Records in the Heralds' College—and Hutchins's History of Dorset.]



MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1650—1678.

Birth and education of John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough—Appointed page to the duke of York—Embraces the military profession—His exploits and promotion—Distinguished by Turenne—Serves several campaigns with the french army—Rising favour at court—Courtship and marriage with Miss Sarah Jennings—Mission to the prince of Orange—Accompanies the english troops abroad as Brigadier—Return.

JOHAN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, was the second son of WINSTON CHURCHILL, whose lineage has been traced in the Introduction. He was born at Ashe, on the 24th of June 1650, and on the 28th* was baptised by the Rev. Matthew Drake, rector of the parish.

Winston, the eldest son, dying in infancy, John became heir to the family name and declining fortunes. Of the education of a person afterwards so illustrious, we only know that he was brought up under the care of his father, who was himself a man of letters, and well versed in history. He was also instructed in

* The entry of his birth appears in the register of Axminster, that of Ash commencing only in 1653. "John the sonne of Mr. Winstone Churchile, was baptised at Aishe the 28th daye of June, in the year of our Lord 1650." Communicated by T. Lisle Follet, esq. of Lyme.

the rudiments of knowledge by a neighbouring clergyman of great learning and piety; and from him, doubtless, imbibed that deep sense of religion, and zealous attachment to the church of England, which were never obliterated amidst the dissipation of a court, the cares of political business, or the din of arms.

Soon after the restoration, when his father was established at court, we find him in the metropolis, and as appears, placed in the school of St. Paul's,* under Dr. Crumleholm, who was then high master. He did not, however, remain a sufficient time to reap the advantages afforded by this respectable seminary; for he was removed to the theatre of active life, at a period when the ordinary course of liberal education is scarcely more than half completed.

The interest of Sir Winston Churchill enabled him to secure establishments for his rising family. Arabella, his only daughter,

* It is very singular that none of his biographers, or any tradition in the family, afford the least hint that he was a scholar of St. Paul's school. There seems, however, to be little doubt of the fact; for it is thrice mentioned in the Life of Dean Collet, the founder of the school, by Dr. Knight, prebendary of Ely, who was himself a scholar, and published his work soon after the death of the duke. The first instance occurs in the Preface, where he is commemorated with the duke of Manchester, as a scholar and benefactor of the establishment; and the second, in the Biographical Sketch of Dr. Crumleholm, who was appointed master in 1660.

To remove all doubts on this point, I requested the Rev. Dr. Sleath, the present high master, to search the books, for some entry or anecdote relative to his admission. But I had the mortification to learn, that all the early documents were destroyed in the great fire of London, in 1665; although from the testimony of Dr. Knight, as well as the tradition of the School, he entertained no doubt of the fact.

Another anecdote connected with the education of this great man appears more questionable. He is supposed to have imbibed his passion for a military life from the perusal of Vegetius de re Militari, which was then in the school library. The anecdote was thus recorded by the Rev. G. North, rector of Colyton, in his copy of Vegetius, p. 483, presented to the Bodleian Library, by the late Mr. Gough; communicated by the head librarian, the Rev. Mr. Bandinel.

"From this very book, John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the celebrated duke of Marlborough, first learnt the elements of the art of war, as was told to me, George North, on St. Paul's Day, 1724-5, by an old clergyman, who said he was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true.

"G. NORTH."

was introduced at court soon after the Restoration, as maid of honour to the first duchess of York; and John was appointed page of honour to the duke.

The example and military spirit of the father was not without effect on the son. At an early period he manifested a decided inclination for the profession of arms, which did not escape the notice of the duke of York, in the frequent reviews of the two regiments of foot guards, which he was accustomed to exercise. On one of these occasions, being asked by his royal patron, what profession he preferred, and in what manner he should provide for him, he threw himself on his knees, and warmly petitioned that he might be appointed to a pair of colours, in one of those fine regiments whose discipline he had admired. The request was graciously received, and soon afterwards the enterprising youth was gratified with the pair of colours, which he had so earnestly desired.*

Many idle stories have been detailed by the memoir writers, or rather the novelists of later times, respecting his early rise. The origin of his fortune has been ascribed wholly to the influence of his sister, Arabella, who was afterwards mistress to the duke of York. But although it would be absurd to assert that he derived no advantage from the favour which she subsequently enjoyed, we may justly conclude that she did not contribute to his first promotion. He received his commission at the age of sixteen, before

It is not probable that a boy should have read so difficult a book as Vegetius, at so early an age, particularly as we can trace no indication that he possessed such an intimate acquaintance with the latin tongue, as the study of this author must have required. The restless curiosity of youth might however have prompted him to look into this book, which was perhaps the only foundation of the traditional anecdote, particularly as it contains prints which might have attracted and amused his attention.

It is however remarkable that there is no Vegetius in the present library of St. Paul's School, though the title occurs in the catalogue as published in Collet's life. Dr. Sleath, who on his appointment found the books in great disorder, conjectures that it was stolen during the time of his predecessor.

* This anecdote is related by his earliest biographer—Life of John, duke of Marlborough, p. 8.

she had attracted the notice of the duke; and the personal qualifications, and bravery which he soon afterwards displayed, together with the services of his father, render it scarcely necessary to seek any other cause for his rapid advancement, than his ardour for a military life, his martial appearance, and rising merits.

The retailers of anecdotes have also sought romantic causes for his first military expedition. Some assert, that his comely person attracted the notice of the duchess of York; others, that he captivated the duchess of Cleveland, the king's mistress; and that the jealousy of one of the royal brothers, was the cause of his temporary banishment to Tangier, then a dependency of the british crown, and besieged by the moors. The absurdity of this tale is sufficiently proved by the shortness of his absence, and his recall by the duke of York himself. Indeed it was perfectly natural, that a high spirited youth, full of enthusiasm for his profession, should resign the pleasures of a court, to acquire renown on the only theatre which was then open to british valour. His conduct proved, that he was actuated by a native spirit of enterprise. He eagerly engaged in the frequent sallies and skirmishes which occurred during the course of the siege; and in this desultory warfare gave the first indications of his active and daring character.

Returning to England the same year, he resumed his attendance on the duke of York, from whom, as well as from the king, he received daily proofs of favour. In 1672, when England united with France against Holland, he accompanied the detachment of 6,000 men, which was sent abroad under the duke of Monmouth; and shortly after his arrival on the continent, was appointed captain of grenadiers in the duke's own regiment. This service was peculiarly calculated to call forth and improve his military talents. The french army, though nominally under the command of Louis the fourteenth, was directed by the two greatest generals of the age, marshal Turenne and the prince of Condé. With a boldness and rapidity till then almost unknown, they reduced in

the space of a few months, the fortresses on the Rhine, to its separation from the Meuse, overran the province of Utrecht, and advanced to the vicinity of Amsterdam. In these operations captain Churchill not only signalized himself in the regular course of military duty, but volunteered his service on every occasion of difficulty and danger. At the siege of Nimeguen he attracted the discerning eye of Turenne, who from that period spoke of him by the familiar title of his handsome englishman, and shortly afterwards put his spirit to the test. A lieutenant-colonel having scandalously abandoned, without resistance, a station which he was enjoined to defend to the last extremity, Turenne exclaimed, "I will bet a supper and a dozen of claret, that my handsome englishman will recover the post, with half the number of men that the officer commanded, who has lost it!" The wager was instantly accepted, and the event justified the confidence of the general; for captain Churchill after a short but desperate struggle expelled the enemy, and maintained the post.*

In the ensuing year, he signalized himself at the siege of Maestricht. A lodgment having been made in the half moon, he accompanied the storming party, which was led by the duke of Monmouth, and at the head of his own company planted the banner of France on the rampart. Before morning, however, the enemy sprung a mine, and rushing forward at the moment of the explosion, recovered the work. But the duke of Monmouth with a party of only twelve, among whom was captain Churchill, traversed the ditch, penetrated through a postern into the half moon, and being seconded by the bravest of their soldiers, regained the lodgment. The captain was slightly wounded in the action.

For this service he received the thanks of Louis the fourteenth at the head of the army, and a strong recommendation to the notice of his own sovereign. The duke of Monmouth also generously conceded to him the whole honour of the exploit; and on presenting him to Charles the second, after a warm

* Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 12.

eulogium on his conduct and courage, added "To the bravery of this gallant officer, I owe my life."

The interest taken in his behalf was proved by his rapid advancement. Amidst the vacillations of Charles the second between the french and dutch, he still continued to serve in the english forces left at the disposition of France: and on the 3rd of April 1674, was appointed by Louis, colonel of the english regiment, which was vacant by the resignation of lord Peterborough.* In this rank he appears to have served during the German campaign of Turenne, and to have been present at the battle of Sinzheim, on the 16th of June, when the imperialists were worsted, and their defeat was followed by the memorable devastation of the Palatinate.† There is little doubt also that he assisted in some of the military operations between 1675 and 1677, after the death of his patron

* His commission is still extant, dated at Versailles, April 3, 1694, signed Louis, and countersigned Tellier, M. P.

† This fact is questioned by the dutch biographer of Marlborough, as well as by other writers, because Ledyard has asserted that he did not serve in 1674, on account of the recent peace, and because, as they imagine, the english troops were recalled from the french service before the battle of Sinzheim. This opinion is manifestly erroneous; for notwithstanding the accommodation with Holland, Charles the second permitted the 6,000 english troops to continue in the french service; and the date of colonel Churchill's commission proves him to have been in the army only two months before the battle. Besides, we have the authority of his chaplain, Mr. Hare, afterwards bishop of Chichester, who compiled the journal of the campaign in 1704, and who states the fact in the clearest terms, though he has mistaken the situation of the place.

"The 15th of June," he observes, "His Grace advanced to Sinzheim, which he could not but remember since the year 1674, when he there commanded an english regiment under that great general marshal Turenne, in the memorable battle fought between him and the imperial generals, the duke of Lorraine, and count Caprara."

This journal was read by Marlborough himself, as we learn from a letter of Cardonnel to secretary Harley, dated Sept. 25, 1704.

The duke of Marlborough must also have been in this quarter in 1676, or 1677, because we find a letter to him from the widow St. Just, dated Metz, July 16, 1711, reminding him of the favour he had shewn her *thirty-four years* before, and reclaiming his protection.

"Metz, 16 Juillet 1711.

"Il est bien difficile que je puisse oublier un seigneur comme vous, et je me fais un devoir indispensable de me souvenir toute ma vie des bontés que vous avez eues pour moi à Metz il y a *trente-quatre ans*. Vous étiez bien jeune, monseigneur, mais vous donniez dès lors, par vos excellentes qualités, l'espérance d'une valeur, d'une politesse, et d'une conduite qui vous ont mis avec justice dans un rang à commander à tous les hommes. Et ce qu'il y a de plus glorieux,

Turenne. In these active campaigns, so intelligent an officer caught the spirit of his great commanders, matured and exercised his talents, and laid the foundation of that consummate skill, which rendered him the wonder of his contemporaries, and the admiration of succeeding ages.

During this interval, colonel Churchill occasionally exchanged his military labours for attendance on his royal patron, the duke of York, who, in 1673, had appointed him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and afterwards raised him to the post of master of the robes.

So handsome and accomplished an officer, could not fail to be entangled in the gallantries of a dissipated court. But we spare the reader the detail of these irregularities, which are doubtless exaggerated by the licentious pens of that and subsequent times. We shall barely advert to an anecdote, which has obtained credit, relative to a connection with the duchess of Cleveland, whom he is accused of treating afterwards with the basest ingratitude. The falsity of this tale will be sufficiently shewn by the observation that it is originally drawn from so impure and questionable a source as the *New Atalantis*.* Admitting however, that

monseigneur, c'est que toute la terre, amis et ennemis, rendent temoignage à la verité que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, et j'ose vous dire que votre générosité à mon égard s'est fait ressentir, puisque les partis qui sont venus brûler tout auprès de ma terre de Mezeray, dans la plaine, ont épargné ma terre, en disant qu'il étoit commandé par un grand seigneur."

* Mrs. Manley, from whom the scandal-mongers of the time drew their information, was one of the most abandoned women of her age. She wrote the *New Atalantis* under the auspices of the tories, and in her licentious romances laboured to vilify the characters of those who were politically adverse to her protectors. Among these she has singled out the duke of Marlborough, whom she designates under the name of count Fortunatus; and makes him an agent in the most improbable and romantic adventures. This woman was imprisoned for some of her lampoons; but Swift, in the true spirit of party, did not blush to recommend her for a remuneration as having suffered in the tory cause. She was also employed by that party in writing the *Examiner*, after Swift had relinquished it, and he allows that he supplied her with some of his venom to asperse Marlborough, and other eminent statesmen. The real opinion which her employers entertained of her character and work, may be gathered from their own description in the *Miscellanies*.

Her conversation all gallant is,
Of scandal now a cornucopia;
She pours it out in *Atalantis*,
Or *Memoirs* of a new Utopia.

colonel Churchill might have experienced the liberality of the duchess, we need not seek for the cause in an intercourse of gallantry, if we consider that he had a strong claim to her protection from affinity, being nearly related to her on the side of his mother, who was her cousin. *

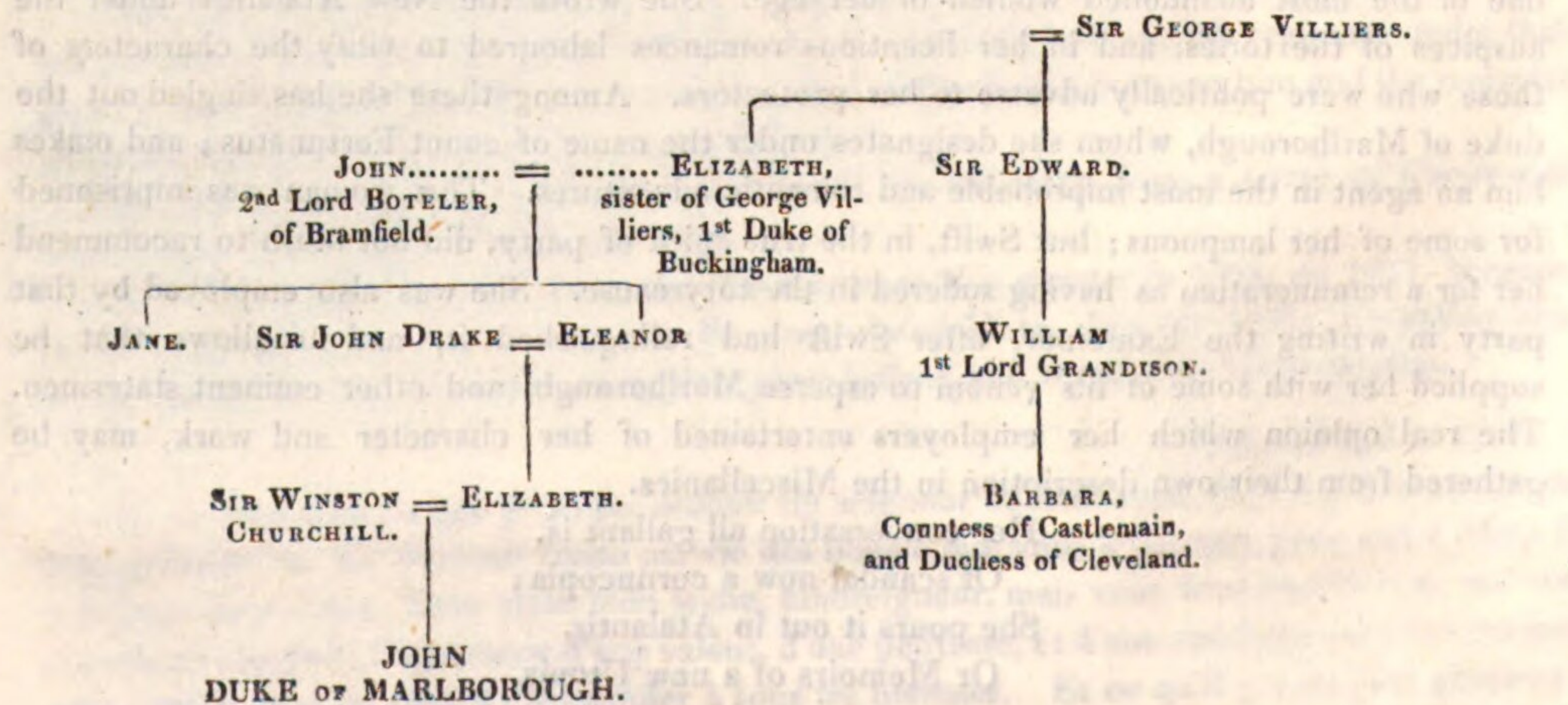
Whatever may have been the conduct of colonel Churchill during the fervour of youth, and amidst the temptations of a dissolute court, his irregularities soon yielded to the influence of a purer passion, which recalled him from licentious connections, and gave a colour to his future life: we allude to his courtship and marriage with miss Sarah Jennings, daughter of Richard Jennings, esq., of Sandridge, near St. Alban's, a gentleman of an antient and distinguished lineage.

The family of Jennings, like that of Churchill, was devoted to the royal cause, and consequently enjoyed considerable favour at court after the Restoration; for we find two daughters of Mr. Jennings at an early period filling honourable situations in the royal household.

Frances, the eldest, one of the most lovely women of the age, was placed about the person of the duchess of York. She first espoused Sir George Hamilton, grandson of James, second earl of

* GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

SHEWING THE CONNECTIONS OF THE DRAKE FAMILY WITH THAT OF VILLIERS.



Abercorn, a *maréchal de camp* in the french service. He died in 1667, leaving issue by her, three daughters; and she married secondly Richard Talbot, who after the revolution was distinguished for his attachment to the exiled monarch, and by him created duke of Tyrconnel.*

Sarah, the younger sister, was also introduced into the court of the duchess of York, at the early age of twelve. She grew up under the protection of her royal patroness, and became the companion of the princess Anne. Though not so transcendantly lovely as her sister, her animated countenance and commanding figure attracted numerous admirers; and even in the dawn of beauty she received advantageous offers of marriage from different persons of consideration, among whom we may reckon the earl of Lindsay, afterwards marquis of Ancaster.† In the midst of a licentious court, she maintained an unspotted reputation, and was as much respected for her prudence and propriety of conduct, as she was admired for the charms of her person and the vivacity of her conversation.

Of this young lady colonel Churchill became enamoured when she had scarcely completed her sixteenth year; and his person, politeness, and amenity of manners, joined with his reputation for bravery, made an early and deep impression on her heart. The interest which the duchess herself took in this important event of her youth, prompted her to preserve many of the letters which passed during their courtship.

Nothing is perhaps more trivial than the general correspondence of lovers. Still however the minutest feelings of a great mind are not without interest, and it gratifies our natural curiosity to trace the sentiments of extraordinary characters in those situations into which they fall in common with the generality of mankind. The letters of the colonel and his future consort display the peculiar features of their respective characters; and

* He was attainted, and died abroad, in 1691. For a particular account of this lady, see the entertaining memoirs of the count Grammont, written by her brother-in-law, Anthony, count Hamilton.

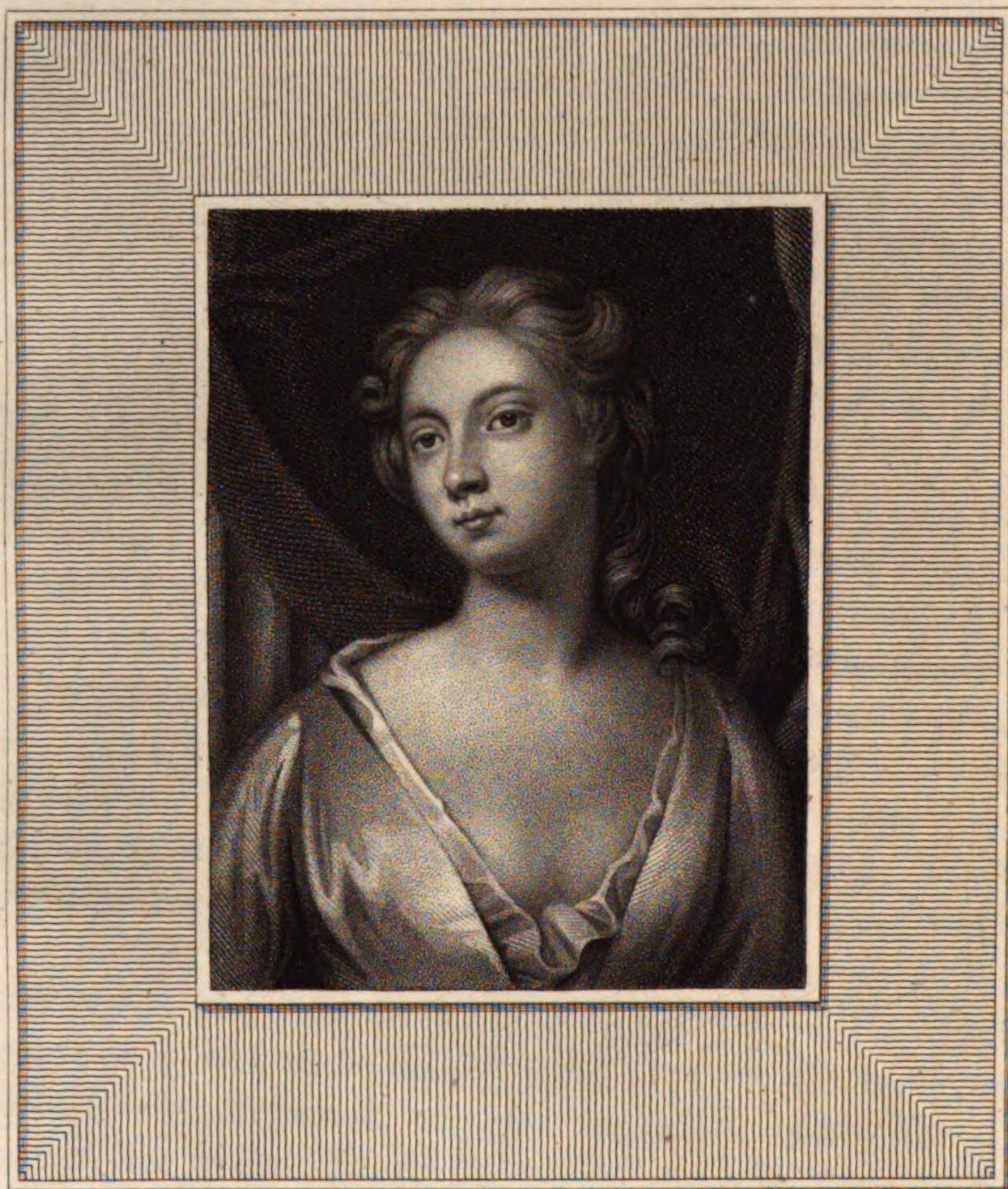
† Letter from Mr. Maynwaring to the duchess of Marlborough.

shew the origin and growth of that deep and ardent attachment to which he owed a higher degree both of happiness and disquietude than usually accompanies the nuptial union. His notes in particular breathe a romantic tenderness and keen sensibility, which appear foreign to the general sedateness of his character. Indeed this correspondence fully exemplifies the eulogium afterwards paid to him by king William, that to the coolest head he united the warmest heart. The letters of the lady evince, on the other hand, the vivacity and petulance of her temper; and display that alternate haughtiness and courtesy which gave her so powerful a command over the passions of those to whom she was attached.

The courtship passed through the usual forms of coyness and ardour, professions on the part of the lover, and reserve on the part of the lady; and was attended with numberless complaints and apologies, bickerings and reconciliations. Several obstacles also gave strength to their mutual passion, as well as retarded their union. The first difficulty arose from the want of a competent establishment. Colonel Churchill could not expect any fortune from his father, who had several children, and was embarrassed in circumstances; and his own actual income consisted in places and emoluments at court, with an annuity of £.500, which he had purchased from lord Halifax in 1674.* The family property of the lady was more ample than that of her lover, but was considerably incumbered, by the provision made for the establishment of her grandfather's numerous issue.† Her portion therefore at this period was small; and it was not till some time after the marriage that it was augmented, by the death of her brothers without issue. Some pecuniary arrangement appears to have been proposed in their favour by the duchess of York, but at

* Among the Blenheim papers is the original agreement, dated in 1674, stating, that colonel Churchill had purchased from lord Halifax an annuity of £.500 per annum, for the sum of £.4,500.

† Letter from the duchess of Marlborough to a friend, bishop Burnet, M. P.



*Sarah Jennings
Duchess of Marlborough
Engraved by W. Bond. from an Original Picture.
Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.
In the possession of Earl Spencer.*

first it was rejected by the lady, in a fit of spleen and dissatisfaction.

The next obstacle was derived from the opposition of sir Winston and lady Churchill, who were anxious to unite their son with a lady of considerable fortune, though less favoured with the gifts of nature than miss Jennings. The report of this alliance being circulated, awakened her alarm and resentment, and she not only reproached him with selfishness and infidelity, but with affected disinterestedness, urged him to renounce an attachment which militated against his worldly prospects. At the same time she declared that, to escape from his further importunities, she would accompany her sister, the countess of Hamilton, on an intended journey to Paris. This reproach drew from the lover a warm remonstrance against her injustice and cruelty, and a pathetic appeal to her affection, which was not made in vain.

The reconciliation was soon followed by their marriage, but at what precise time it took place we have not been able to ascertain, though it must have been in the beginning of 1675.* The ceremony was privately performed in the presence

* The biographers of the duke, as well as historians in general, place his marriage as late as 1681, which cannot be correct, because Henrietta, the eldest daughter, was born July 23, 1681, which is proved by the entry of her baptism, in the register of St. Martin's in the Fields, communicated by the vicar, archdeacon Pott, as well as by an entry of the date in the family Bible, now in the possession of earl Spencer.

As I have fixed the date of this marriage at a much earlier period than is generally supposed, I think it necessary to assign my reasons:

1. The duchess, in an endorsement to one of the *lettres de son amour*, says, "I was married when this was written," which shows that their courtship commenced at least a year before she was born in 1681.

2. The marriage had taken place before colonel Churchill wrote the letter to his lady, dated "Antwerp, April 3." Now this letter must have been written in April 1675, because we find by two letters from the duke of York to the prince of Orange, dated April 1 and 7 of that year, that colonel Churchill was then sent by the king to adjust the military arrangements between the prince of Orange and the Spaniards. These letters are printed by Dalrymple, vol. 1, p. 207. To this mission a reference is plainly made in the colonel's letter to his lady. One of his letters dated Brussels, April 12, 1675, also begins, "I writ to you from Antwerp, &c." It is directed to Mrs. Jennings, but is answered by the duchess in the latter period of her life, "I believe I was married when this letter was writ; but it was not known to any but the duchess" (of York).



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As I have fixed the date of this marriage at a much earlier period than is generally supposed, I think it necessary to assign my reasons :

1. The duchess, in an endorsement to one of the love-letters, observes, " I was fifteen when this was written," which shows that their courtship commenced as early as 1675, for she was born in 1660.

2. The marriage had taken place before colonel Churchill wrote the letter hereafter quoted, dated " Antwerp, April 3." Now this letter must have been written in April 1678, because we find by two letters from the duke of York to the prince of Orange, dated April 2 and 7 of that year, that colonel Churchill was then sent by the king to adjust the military arrangements between the prince of Orange and the Spaniards. These letters are printed by Dalrymple, vol. 1, p. 207. To this mission a reference is plainly made in the colonel's letter to his lady. One of his letters dated Brussels, April 12, 1678, also begins, " I writ to you from Antwerp, &c." It is directed to Mrs. Jennings, but is endorsed by the duchess in the latter period of her life, " I believe I was married when this letter was writ; but it was not known to any but the duchess" (of York).

of the duchess of York, who honoured the bride with gifts of considerable value, and was not declared for some months.* From the time of his marriage till 1683, colonel Churchill had no settled home, but submitted to frequent separations from his beloved wife. Being attached to the service of the duke of York, he was hurried from place to place, sometimes dispatched on missions of importance abroad, and sometimes following the emigrations of his royal patron during his banishment from court.

Soon after his marriage, colonel Churchill obtained a regiment of foot, and his commission bears date February 17th, 1677-8. This appointment was also the prelude to a mission of peculiar delicacy. Charles the second and his brother being incensed against the king of France for refusing to increase the pensions by which he had purchased their connivance at his ambitious designs, affected a disposition to renew the triple alliance. Charles appealed to the parliament, made military preparations, and opened a communication with the prince of Orange, who had recently espoused his niece the princess Mary. Colonel Churchill was the agent selected on this occasion to concert measures with the prince; and is mentioned in the letters of the duke of York as possessing the full confidence both of his brother and himself.†

A letter from the colonel to his lady ascertains the period of this mission, which has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers.

“ *Brussels, April 12.*

“ I writ to you from Antwerp, which I hope you have received

3. This is corroborated by the subsequent letters, which are addressed to “ Mrs. Churchill at Mintern,” one of which is dated Margate, Sept. 8, 1678, when he was on his voyage to Holland with the British troops, and forced back by contrary winds. It agrees also with the date of his departure, which is proved, from the warrant of the duke of Monmouth, to have been Sept. 3, 1678.

* On one of these billets-doux is an endorsement by the lady, “ This letter was written when he was to settle the time of marrying me with the duchess” (of York).

† Letters from the duke of York to the prince of Orange, April 2 and 7, 1678,—Dalrymple, vol. 1, p. 208, 8vo.

before now ; for I would be glad you should hear from me by every post. I met with some difficulties in my business with the prince of Orange, so that I was forced to write to England, which will cause me to be two or three days longer abroad than I should have been. But because I would lose no time, I dispatch all other things in the mean time, for I do with all my heart and soul long to be with you, you being dearer to me than my own life. On Sunday morning I shall leave this place, so that on Monday at night I shall be at Breda, where the prince and princess of Orange are ; and from thence you shall be sure to hear from me again. Till when, my soul's soul, farewell."

This mission was preparatory to the embassy of sir William Temple, for the conclusion of an offensive and defensive alliance with the United Provinces ; and was followed by the embarkation of a considerable body of troops to reinforce the spanish and dutch armies. Although the arrangement was ultimately of no avail, it was an important transaction in the life of colonel Churchill, because it enabled him to appreciate the character and principles of the great prince, by whom Europe was afterwards rescued from slavery, and England from papal bondage.

On his return, the colonel found the English government actively employed in carrying his arrangements into effect, and was selected as one of the officers destined for this service.

He spent part of the summer at Mintern with his parents, who were now reconciled to his lady. But towards the beginning of August, he was suddenly summoned to join the expedition which was then ready to depart for the continent. He quitted with regret the society of his beloved wife and family, and repairing to London, received from the duke of York the notice of his destination.

The forces being dispatched from England, the allied armies prepared to act against the french. The duke of Monmouth, as british commander in chief, joined the prince of Orange with a considerable reinforcement, while a large body of troops, under the earl of Ossory, acted with the spanish army. Lord Feversham, with the remainder, was on the point of his departure, and colonel

Churchill was among the officers who embarked in this division, in virtue of a warrant from the duke of Monmouth, dated September 3, 1678, authorising him, as eldest brigadier of foot, to command a brigade in Flanders, consisting of two battalions of guards, one dutch regiment, and the regiments of the prince and colonel Legge.* In his passage being driven into Margate by contrary winds, he wrote to his wife at Mintern, announcing that he should not be called into the field, and predicting a speedy accommodation.†

This prediction was verified, for he had scarcely reached the continent, before he heard that the prince of Orange had signed a treaty with the french, which was the prelude to a general peace. The english troops were recalled, and the colonel hastened to England to rejoin the society in which all his affections were centered.‡

* Original warrant in the Marlborough Papers.

† Colonel Churchill to his Lady, Margate, Sept. 8.—Marlborough Papers.

‡ Besides the early correspondence and documents preserved at Blenheim, we have consulted the earliest Life of the Duke of Marlborough, published in 1713, under the title of Lives of the two illustrious generals, John duke of Marlborough, and Francis Eugene, prince of Savoy.—Ledyard, and the Dutch biographer Vryer: also Tindal, Dalrymple, Kennett, and the other historians and memoir writers of the times.

CHAPTER 2.

1674—1684.

*Attendance of colonel Churchill on the duke of York during his various peregrinations—
Employed on several political missions—Birth of his eldest daughter—Created a
peer of Scotland by the title of lord Churchill of Aymouth—Military promotion—
Rise of his wife's favour with the princess Anne.*

WE must refer the reader to the histories of the times, for an account of the religious and party feuds which agitated the parliament and nation during the remaining part of the reign of Charles the second, together with the attempts made, either to exclude the duke of York from the throne, as a papist, or to limit his authority, in case of his accession. Nor shall we enter into the shameless cabals of the king, the duke of York, and many of the party in opposition with Louis the fourteenth. Colonel Churchill took no public share in these intrigues and contentions; and it is probable that he did not accept a seat in the house of commons, from a consciousness that the frankness of his temper would involve him in political broils. Yet as he confided in the solemn promises of the duke of York not to interfere in the national religion, gratitude as well as interest prompted him to consider the conduct of the party in opposition as equally disrespectful, unjust, and unconstitutional. To a confidential friend, who has given the earliest account of his life, he observed, “Though I have an aversion to popery, yet I am no less averse to persecution for conscience sake. I deem it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance, upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, when nothing that is actual

appears to preclude him from the exercise of his just rights.”* But although such were his sentiments, he was too firmly devoted to the church of England to suffer his attachment and gratitude to outweigh the obligations of duty and conscience; and he continued to profess the protestant religion, at a time when a real or pretended conversion was construed into an act of merit, by the prince on whom he depended.

But the confidence reposed in colonel Churchill reduced him to a difficult and delicate predicament. In the continual negotiations which James carried on with his brother and the king of France, we find him frequently charged with the most secret commissions. When the duke of York was compelled to quit England in March, 1679, he attended him to the Hague and to Brussels, and was accompanied by his wife, who then filled a place in the household of the duchess.

The king being seriously indisposed, James was secretly summoned to England by his order. Leaving the duchess at Brussels, he departed on the 8th of September, and was accompanied on his journey only by the colonel and lord Peterborough. They landed at Dover, and Peterborough remaining behind, the colonel rode post with James to London. On the arrival of the duke at Windsor, he found his brother recovered. But his presence produced a considerable effect on the mind of the king; and though he could not obtain permission to continue at court, he was allowed to take up his residence in Scotland.†

During the stay of the duke in London, colonel Churchill was dispatched to Paris in September, to accelerate a treaty between Charles the second and Louis. The duke of York by whom this arrangement was zealously promoted, again gave him a letter of recommendation, designating him as the master of his wardrobe, to whom entire credit might be given.‡

* Lives of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, printed in 1713, octavo, p. 13.

† Life of James the Second.—Macpherson, vol. 1, p. 94. And his Life, edited by Clarke, vol. 1, p. 565.

‡ Dalrymple, Appendix to ch. 4, vol. 1, p. 321, 8vo.

Colonel Churchill returned from Paris before the departure of James to Brussels, whither he accompanied him in his journey to bring back his family. When James established his residence in Scotland, the colonel was, as on other occasions, his constant attendant, but left his lady in London. During the journey, which lasted a month, as well as after his arrival at Edinburgh, on the 4th of December, 1679, we find a few affectionate letters addressed to his wife, indicating his concern at their separation.

James was too deeply interested in the succession to the crown to remain tranquil in Scotland; for on the 24th of February, 1680, he returned to London. After a residence of a few months, during which colonel Churchill was employed in some honourable missions, James was driven back into Scotland by the efforts of the popular party, in October. Colonel Churchill was again his attendant, and enjoyed the happiness of his wife's society, who was in the suite of the duchess of York.

In January, 1681, the colonel was dispatched by James to London. The first object of his mission was, to press the king not to assemble the parliament, which in the agitated state of the public mind, the duke was apprehensive might propose measures calculated for his own exclusion from the throne, or at least might establish such restrictions as would greatly limit his power, in case of his accession. The second object was, to dissuade the king from forming such alliances with Spain and Holland, as would involve him in a war with France, and consequently in the language of James "render him a slave to his parliament." To this was added a third, namely, a direct alliance with France, which the colonel was charged to represent as the only expedient for the support of the king, and the preservation of the prerogative, without which the country must again fall under the government of a commonwealth. The last point was, to solicit permission for the duke to return, at least for a limited period; or, if this could not be effected, to obtain for him additional powers, and the command of the forces in Scotland.

The extreme delicacy of this commission is proved by the strict injunction given to colonel Churchill not to communicate it to the

ministers, especially to lord Halifax. By additional directions he was enjoined to press the king to the adoption of resolute counsels, which, as James contended, the experience of the preceding year had proved to be safest.

Arriving at court, colonel Churchill found the king too much alarmed to embrace the violent counsels of his brother; yet the dexterous negotiator acquired a new title to the confidence of his patron, by the extreme address with which he executed his commission, and the impression which his representations made on the mind of the king. On his return he gave James a satisfactory account of the state of parties, and of the ministry; and prevailed on him not to re-appear at court, during the bustle of the new elections, lest his presence should awaken suspicion, and exasperate his enemies.*

In the course of the same year, he was deputed several times to London, to promote the interests of his master, and accelerate the conclusion of the long pending treaty with France. In this negotiation the colonel took an active part, and the dispatches of the french minister, Barillon, prove that he counteracted the insidious suggestions of the french monarch, to inflame the mind of James, and provoke a civil war.

Soon after his return to Scotland, he was hailed as a father; for his lady, who had accompanied the duchess, was delivered in London, of her first daughter Henrietta, on the 19th of July, 1681.† Several of his letters prove that the pleasing hopes and anticipations of a parent beguiled the pain of his frequent absences. To avoid endless repetitions of the same tender sentiments, we shall insert merely a single extract, to prove that the professions of the husband were scarcely less ardent than those of the lover.

“ *Jan. 3, 1679.*

“ I writ to you last night by the express, and since that

* Life of James 2., v. 1. p. 658. 666.

† The entry of her baptism occurs in the parish register of St. Martin's in the Fields, communicated by the kindness of the vicar, the Rev. Archdeacon Pott. It is also entered in the family Bible, in the duchess's own hand; communicated by earl Spencer.

I have no good news to send you. The yachts are not yet come, nor do we know when they will, for the wind is directly against them, so that you may believe that I am not in a very good humour, since I desire nothing so much as being with you. The only comfort I had here was hearing from you, and now if we should be stopped by contrary winds, and not hear from you, you may guess with what satisfaction I shall then pass my time; therefore as you love me, you will pray for fair winds, so that we may not stay here, nor be long at sea.

“ I hope all the red spots of our child will be gone, against I see her, and her nose strait, so that I may fancy it to be like the mother; for as she has your coloured hair, I would have her be like you in all things else. Till next post day farewell. By that time I hope we shall hear of the yachts, for till I do, I shall have no kind of patience.”

We shall here insert another letter, though written after the birth of Anne, his second daughter, because it exhibits a picture, equally pleasing, of parental and conjugal affection.

“ *Tunbridge.*

“ You cannot imagine how I am pleased with the children; for they having nobody but their maid, they are so fond of me, that when I am at home, they will be always with me, kissing and hugging me. Their heats are quite gone; so that against you come home they will be in beauty. If there be room I will come on Monday, so that you need not write on Sunday.

“ Miss is pulling me by the arm, that she may write to her dear mamma; so that I shall say no more, only beg that you will love me always as well as I love you, and then we cannot but be happy.”

To gratify the playful importunities of the child, he concludes the letter with a postscript in her name.

“ I kiss your hands, my dear mamma.

“ *HARRIET.*”

In the different peregrinations of James, during this period of agitation and alarm, colonel Churchill was his constant attendant,

except while employed on his different missions. He was also the principal channel of the private communications between the two royal brothers.*

When the popular party, and those called the exclusionists, were defeated, and Charles had attained the power of giving his brother a permanent establishment at court, colonel Churchill accompanied his royal patron on his triumphant return, in 1682. He also attended him on board the Gloucester yacht, when that ship was wrecked near the Lemon and Ore in Yarmouth roads, and so many persons of consideration perished. The colonel was one among the fortunate few who escaped, being invited by James himself to take his place in the boat, which put off to shore, as soon as the loss of the vessel was found to be inevitable.

On this return of prosperity, James did not suffer the services of his faithful attendant to pass unrewarded. He was soon afterwards created, by letters patent, baron Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, and on the 19th of November, 1683, was appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, then about to be raised.†

It was at this period the intention of lord Churchill, that his wife should withdraw from court; but the marriage of the princess Anne afforded an opportunity of placing her in a post, which was no less honourable than gratifying to her feelings, that of lady of her royal highness's bed-chamber.

When Miss Jennings was first introduced into the household of the duchess of York, she was noticed by the princess Anne, then about three years younger than herself. An affectionate disposition on the part of the princess, and on that of her youthful associate, the most captivating vivacity, soon rendered them inseparable companions. Habitual intercourse ripened their mutual partiality into the most tender friendship, and at this early period we trace the rise of that romantic affection, which long reigned be-

* Lord Sunderland, secretary of state, to colonel Churchill, Dec. 23. MS.

† This commission is still extant among the family papers.

tween them. To her friend and confidante the princess recurred in all the momentous as well as in the trifling incidents of her life; and at the time when the zeal of James for popery spread the utmost alarm throughout the nation, the princess drew from the counsel and encouragement of her friend, additional motives of attachment to that system of worship in which she was educated; and which she considered as endangered by the avowed principles of her father.* The princess pressed the appointment of her favourite with affectionate zeal, and announced it to her in a letter full of satisfaction and tenderness.

“ TO LADY CHURCHILL.

“ The duke came in just as you were gone, and made no difficulties, but has promised me that I shall have you, which I assure you is a great joy to me: I should say a great deal for your kindness in offering it, but I am not good at compliments. I will only say, that I do take it extreme kindly, and shall be ready at any time to do you all the service that lies in my power.”

In this situation, and amidst the momentous incidents which marked the period, their intimacy gained new strength, until it rose to a degree of confidence and affection seldom witnessed. One of the many letters, written at this time, will show the style they reciprocally adopted, and the anxiety of the princess to set aside the restraints of high rank and etiquette.

“ TO LADY CHURCHILL.

“ *Winchester, Sept. 20.*

“ I writ to you last Wednesday from on board the yacht, and left my letter on Thursday morning at Portsmouth, to go by the post, to be as good as my word in writing to my dear lady Churchill by the first opportunity. I was in so great haste when I

* From the Conduct it appears, not only that means were used to convert the princess, but that lures were held forth to lady Churchill herself, by her brother in law, lord Tyrconnel, to use her influence with the princess, and even to renounce her own religion. Conduct, p. 16.

writ, that I fear what I said was nonsense, but I hope you have so much kindness for me as to forgive it * * * * *

“ If you will not let me have the satisfaction of hearing from you again before I see you, let me beg of you not to call me your highness at every word, but to be as free with me as one friend ought to be with another ; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship, than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do ; and if ever it were in my power to serve you, no body would be more ready than myself. I am all impatience for Wednesday, till when farewell.”

This correspondence became daily more confidential, till at length, to set aside the restraints of rank and custom, the princess offered her friend the choice of two feigned names, under which she proposed to continue their intercourse : “ I,” says the duchess “ chose the name of Freeman, as more conformable to the frankness of my disposition, and the princess adopted that of Morley.”* Their style soon assumed the tone which this expedient was calculated to give ; and their letters display a degree of familiarity and tenderness which seldom exists, even between equals in the higher ranks of society.

* Conduct, p. 14.

CHAPTER 3.

1684—1689.

Accession of James the second—Lord Churchill created a British peer—His rising favour—Embassy to Paris—Expedition against the duke of Monmouth—Battle of Sedgemoor—Alarmed at the king's attempts to introduce popery—Correspondence with the prince of Orange—His conduct during and after the revolution.

FROM the marriage of the princess Anne, till the death of Charles the second, in February 1684, lord Churchill does not appear on the theatre of public affairs.

The accession of James, by whose favour he had been so long distinguished, naturally opened to his view the prospect of higher honours and a more exalted fortune. Indeed, the first act of the new sovereign was, to charge his tried and confidential servant with a mission to Paris, for the purpose of notifying his accession, and gratefully acknowledging the largesses which he had recently received from the french monarch.

Hitherto lord Churchill had regarded with indulgence the failings of a prince, to whom he was bound by so many ties of respect and gratitude. But he was not so far biassed by gratitude or ambition as to forget his duty to his religion and country, and in a conversation with lord Galway, during his embassy at Paris, he observed, "If the king should attempt to change our religion and constitution, I will instantly quit his service."* Like many others, however, he at first gave credit to the solemn declarations of James, and waited with patience, though not without apprehension, to discover whether the conduct of the monarch would accord with his professions.

* Burnet; from the information of lord Galway, vol. 3, p. 216.

His embassy to Paris being a mere temporary mission, he returned to England as soon as he had executed his orders, bearing strong testimonials of satisfaction and confidence, from the french king to James.

“ Sir, my Brother ;

Versailles, March 8, 1685.

“ I felt as I ought the loss of the late king of Great Britain, and your care in sending lord Churchill expressly to announce it to me. As I cannot doubt that you will give to his report the same credence that I have given to what he communicated to me from you, I refer you to him for the rest, and particularly for the confidence which you may place in my friendship.”*

Lord Churchill attended at the coronation of James, on the 23rd of April; and on the 14th of May, he was raised to the English Peerage, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford.

Soon afterwards, the invasion of the duke of Monmouth gave him an opportunity to signalize both his loyalty and military talents. He was appointed to command the forces then assembled at Salisbury, consisting of six troops of horse and nine companies of foot;† and to this charge was added the rank of brigadier. With this small corps he performed essential service, by his vigilance and activity: he kept his troops in continual motion, scouring the country, collecting intelligence, and dispersing the scattered bands of the rebels, though superior in number. These frequent and well timed expeditions spread dismay and confusion among the disaffected, awed the secret partisans of Monmouth, and repressed that zeal for his cause which was manifested by the lower classes in Somersetshire. During this short struggle he was promoted to the rank of major-general, by a commission dated July 1, 1685.

While lord Churchill was at Chard, at the head of his own corps and the regiment of Dorsetshire militia, he received a summons

* Translation from the original, in the Mallet Papers.

† These commissions are dated June 15, 1685; and June 19. M. P.

from the duke of Monmouth, claiming his allegiance as king of England, and enjoining him to desist from hostilities.

Lord Churchill dismissed the trumpeter, and sent the letter to James as a ridiculous bravado.* The only answer which he gave was, to continue his exertions in harassing the rebels; and it is generally allowed that his skill and activity compelled Monmouth to concentrate his forces, and precipitate an engagement.

In the battle of Sedgemoor, which decided the fate of Monmouth, the vigilance of lord Churchill prevented the mischiefs which were likely to result from the negligence of the commander in chief, lord Feversham. He not only saved the royal army from a surprise, on the eve of that memorable engagement; but by his courage and decision greatly contributed to the success of the day. For his services in this battle, he was appointed colonel of the third troop of horse-guards.†

From the time of this expedition we find no particular mention of lord Churchill, till the closing scene of James's reign; a remarkable circumstance, when we consider the favour and confidence he had hitherto enjoyed. Possibly the discordance of his principles, political and religious, with those of the sovereign, may have produced some coolness; and at all events he continued to profess his attachment to the protestant church, at a time when James did not disdain to employ both persuasion and influence to make converts among those who were more immediately attached to his person. Whatever was the cause, lord Churchill was not raised to any office of state; and the short reign of James offered no farther scope to military talents. Indeed, when we consider the bigotted and arbitrary character of the monarch, we ought rather to wonder that Churchill escaped disgrace, than that he was not distinguished by any accession of honour.

* Secret History of Europe, part 2, p. 189, and part 3, p. 123; in which the author informs us the same summons was sent to the duke of Albemarle.

† His commission is dated August 1, 1686.

In proportion as the arbitrary designs of James were developed, we find his confidential adherents, and even the members of his own family, expressing their alarm at the consequences of his fanatic zeal for the roman catholic religion. A letter from the princess Anne to lady Churchill, shews the impression made by the introduction of four popish peers, lords Powis, Arundel, Bel-lasis, and Dover, into the privy council, in 1686.

“ I was very much surprised when I heard of the four new privy counsellors, and am very sorry for it ; for it will give great countenance to those sort of people, and methinks it has a very dismal prospect. Whatever changes there are in the world, I hope you will never forsake me, and I shall be happy.”

When such were the feelings of a daughter, we cannot be surprised to find lord Churchill adhering to the resolution which he had announced to lord Galway. The arbitrary declaration of indulgence, which was issued on the 10th of April, 1687, seems at length to have awakened his alarm for the civil and religious liberties of his country ; and the proceedings in favour of the papists, which immediately followed, gave additional strength to his apprehensions. He was therefore among the first who made overtures to the prince of Orange : he conveyed assurances of his attachment to the protestant cause, through Dykvelt, the agent of the prince, and Mr. Russel and Mr. Sidney, the two great movers of the subsequent revolution. At the same time he announced the determination of the princess Anne rather to abandon her misguided father than to sacrifice her religion, a resolution to which his exhortations, as well as those of his lady, had essentially contributed.

LORD CHURCHILL TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.

“ *May 17, 1687.*

“ The princess of Denmark having ordered me to discourse with monsieur Dykvelt, and to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your highness and the princess her sister know that she was resolved, by the assistance of God, to suffer all

extremities, even to death itself, rather than be brought to change her religion, I thought it my duty to your highness and the princess royal, by this opportunity of monsieur Dykvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my places and the king's favour I set at nought, in comparison of being true to my religion. In all things but this the king may command me; and I call God to witness, that even with joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, sir, with thus much of myself, I being of so little use to your highness, is very impertinent, but I think it may be a great ease to your highness and the princess to be satisfied that the princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting of me; I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a saint, if there be ever occasion for it, to shew the resolution of a martyr.—I am, with all respect, sir," &c.*

Lord Churchill, however, was not among the number of those who dissembled their real sentiments, or flattered the bigotry and infatuation of the king. On the contrary, to the last moment, he laboured to rouse the inconsiderate monarch to a sense of his danger, before it was too late, and seized every opportunity to remonstrate, in strong though respectful terms, against his attacks on the religious establishment, and the arbitrary system of government which he was endeavouring to introduce.

Lord Churchill waited on the king, in the progress which he made during the summer of 1687, with the view of reconciling the people to the recent innovations. At Winchester James touched in the cathedral several persons for the king's evil, and two roman catholic priests officiated as chaplains. After the ceremony lord Churchill attended his majesty to the deanry, and being alone with him in the garden, before dinner, the king said, "Well, Churchill, what do my subjects say about this ceremony of touching in the church?" "Truly," replied lord Churchill, "they do

* This letter is printed in all the histories of the times, and a copy is preserved among the papers at Blenheim.

not approve it; and it is the general opinion that your majesty is paving the way for the introduction of popery." "How!" exclaimed the king, "Have I not given my royal word, and will they not believe their king? I have given liberty of conscience to others; I was always of opinion that toleration was necessary for all Christian people; and most certainly I will not be abridged of that liberty myself, nor suffer those of my own religion to be prevented from paying their devotions to God in their own way." His majesty having uttered these words with great warmth, lord Churchill ventured to observe, "What I spoke, sir, proceeded partly from my zeal for your majesty's service, which I prefer above all things next to that of God; and I humbly beseech your majesty to believe that no subject in the three kingdoms will venture farther than I will to purchase your favour and good liking. But as I have been bred a protestant, and intend to live and die in that communion, as above nine parts in ten of the whole people are of that persuasion, and I fear (which I say from excess of duty) from the genius of the English, and their natural aversion to the roman catholic worship, some consequences which I dare not so much as name, and which I cannot contemplate without horror—," "I tell you, Churchill," said the king, interrupting him, "I will exercise my own religion in such a manner as I shall think fitting; I will shew favour to my catholic subjects, and be a common father to all my protestants of what religion soever; but I am to remember that I am a king, and to be obeyed by them. As for the consequences I shall leave them to Providence, and make use of the power God has put into my hands to prevent any thing that shall be injurious to my honour, or derogatory to the duty that is owing to me."*

At the conclusion of these words the king abruptly broke off the conversation, and returned to the deanry. During the dinner his manner proved how much he resented this freedom, for he

* From the account of the duke of Marlborough's earliest biographer, who was present at the dinner, and received the relation of what had passed from lord Churchill himself.—*Lives of Marlborough and Eugene*, p. 19.

principally addressed himself to the dean, who stood behind his chair, and discoursed the whole time on passive obedience.

If any thing could prove the sincerity of lord Churchill, and his grateful attachment to his misguided master, it was this honest, but unwelcome remonstrance. We therefore need seek no farther justification of his subsequent conduct, when he found himself reduced to the sad necessity of deserting his religion, or abandoning the cause of his royal benefactor.

The communication which lord Churchill had already opened with the prince of Orange, was doubtless maintained during the winter of 1687, when the violent acts of the king against the protestant establishment, excited daily new sentiments of alarm and indignation. At the moment when the prince was preparing that expedition, which was to deliver the country from popery and arbitrary power, we find lord Churchill conveying to him the most positive declarations of his zeal and attachment.

“SIR,

“August 4, 1688.

“Mr. Sydney will let you know how I intend to behave myself: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me; I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect.—I am, with all respect, sir,” &c.*

This letter, with the foregoing messages and confidential communications, coming from a nobleman so closely attached to James, both by gratitude and interest, and so beloved by the army, must have greatly strengthened the resolution of the prince of Orange, for it proved that the misguided zeal of the monarch had even alienated his devoted adherents.

The events of the Revolution are too well known to need recapitulation. It will be sufficient to observe, that after the landing

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appendix to Book 5, vol. 2, p. 121.

of William, James did not withdraw his confidence from lord Churchill ; but intrusted him with the command of a brigade in the army, which he himself led as far as Salisbury, to repel the invasion, and even raised him to the rank of lieutenant-general.* Some suspicion, however, seems to have been conceived against him ; for lord Feversham advised the king to arrest him, as an officer whose defection might produce the most alarming impression. James from fear, policy, or affection, refused to listen to the proposal ; but it could not be concealed from the person whom it so nearly regarded, and on the ensuing day lord Churchill went over to the prince with the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkley, and other officers of his own regiment.

If we review the preceding conduct and declarations of lord Churchill, we shall need no argument to be convinced that a sense of patriotism and religion outweighed in his mind the obligations of gratitude and interest ; and that he chose the party which he embraced, from a conviction that no other alternative remained, to save the constitution and church establishment, and that the only design of William was, to fulfil his declaration of restraining the arbitrary spirit of James, and restoring the parliament to its functions and authority. In departing from Salisbury, he left a letter to the king, explaining and vindicating his conduct.

“ SIR ;

“ Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity when they act contrary to their interests ; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majesty in the worst of times (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions ; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world, that I am acted by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert

* The commission is dated November 7, 1688, and countersigned “ Middleton.”

your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest obligations to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion (which no good man can oppose) and with which I am instructed nothing can come in competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true interest, and the protestant religion; but as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect; so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, &c."*

In great revolutions it is common to find the most upright characters maligned, and the purest principles misrepresented. From this fate lord Churchill did not escape; for he has been accused of a design to seize or assassinate the king at the time of his departure.† Such tales may find a momentary credit when the passions of men are heated; but at present to mention, is to refute them.

* Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 75, as well as in all the publications of the times.

† We cannot advert to this atrocious accusation without calling the attention of the reader to the mode in which the favourers of the dethroned monarch have garbled the account given by the king himself or his biographer. We contrast a material clause as printed by Macpherson, with the original passage from which it was taken:

"After alluding to a violent hæmorrhage, which detained James at Salisbury," Macpherson adds,

"*It is generally* believed had it not been for that accident, that Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, &c. who deserted soon after, with some in that quarter, had designed to seize the king in going thither or coming back; and have carried him to the prince of Orange."—Macpherson's papers, vol. 1. p. 162.

"This bleeding, which the king was not naturally subject to, happened very providentially; FOR IT WAS GENERALLY BELIEVED AFTERWARDS, that my lord Churchill, Kirke, and Trelawney, with some others in that quarter, had a design to seize the king, either in his going thither or coming back, and so have carried him to the prince of Orange."

Macpherson has also omitted a subsequent clause, which was added by the biographer of

After quitting the army of James, his lordship took his route towards the west, and joining the prince at Axminster, was received with distinguished marks of attention and regard. His departure was the signal for a more general defection, not only of those who were openly hostile to James, but even of those who were connected with him by blood. Prince George of Denmark quitted the king at Andover, and repaired to Sherborn, whither the prince of Orange had advanced. At nearly the same time, the princess Anne, secretly withdrew from the palace at midnight, in company with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkley, and repaired to the lodgings of the bishop of London, with whom her evasion was concerted. Then, directing her course to Northampton, she was escorted by a party of horse to Oxford, where she was met by the prince her husband, with a body of troops from the army of the prince of Orange.

On the approach of the prince to the capital, and the flight of James to Feversham, lord Churchill was sent forward to reassemble his own troop of horse-guards, and to bring over the soldiers quartered in and about the metropolis. He executed his commission with equal prudence and activity; and carried back so favourable a report concerning the dispositions of the people and army, as induced the prince to hasten to the capital.

After the departure of James, lord Churchill assisted in the convention parliament. He was also one of the peers who associated in support of the prince's declaration, and in defence of his person. But when the design was disclosed of placing the prince on the throne, either alone, or in conjunction with his consort, lord Churchill was among the peers who voted for a regency. At length, however, when the struggle of contending parties rose to such a height as to portend a counter revolution, and there appeared no

James, and proves the falsehood of the charge that lord Churchill intended to assassinate the king.

"Perhaps they might pretend it was not with intention to have done him any personal harm; only force him to consent to what they thought reasonable."—Clarke's Life of James, &c. vol. 1, p. 222, 223.

alternative but to recall James, or confer the crown on William; his lordship, from motives of delicacy, absented himself from the house of peers during the discussion which terminated in the memorable vote declaring the vacancy of the throne. His absence, with that of some other peers, who likewise adhered to the rule of hereditary descent, contributed to the decision of this important question, by a majority of seven voices. The vacancy being thus legally declared, lord Churchill took an active part in the subsequent arrangements. In conjunction with his lady he persuaded the princess Anne, to postpone her own succession to the throne, and to consent to that of the prince and princess of Orange, and thus removed one great obstacle to the settlement of the nation. The change of government was announced on the 6th of February, and William and Mary declared king and queen. The administration was solely vested in the prince; while the princess of Denmark and her heirs were declared next in the succession, in preference to the issue of William by any future marriage.*

On the 14th of February lord Churchill was sworn a member of the privy council, and made a lord of the bed-chamber; and two days before the coronation, he was raised to the dignity of earl of Marlborough.†

* Ledyard—Ralph—Hume—Tindal—Kennett—Dalrymple—Journals of Lords and Commons—Pere d'Orleans—and Clarendon's Diary.

† He probably took the title of Marlborough, in consequence of a family connection, by his mother's side, with the Leys, earls of Marlborough, which title became extinct in 1679.

JOHN LORD BOTELER,
of Brandfield Herts,
m. Elizabeth, sister of George Villiers,
Duke of Buckingham.

JANE,
m. James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, killed in the sea-fight off Lestoffe with the Dutch, in 1665. As he left no issue, the title fell to William, his uncle, who dying in 1679 without issue, it became extinct.

ELEANOR,
m. Sir John Drake.

ELIZABETH,
m. Sir Winston Churchill.

JOHN,
EARL and DUKE of MARLBOROUGH.

Sir Winston Churchill did not live to witness the new honours conferred on his son; for he died in London, on the 26th of March, 1688.* By his will he left his whole property at the disposal of his wife, who had brought him a considerable fortune.

Besides the earl of Marlborough, the surviving children were George, Charles, and Arabella.

George was at this time in the naval service, in which he afterwards rose to the rank of admiral. In the latter part of William's reign, he was a member of the board of admiralty; and in that of Anne was one of the council of prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral, whose confidence he possessed in a peculiar degree. He was also gentleman of his bed-chamber.

Charles, at the age of thirteen, was made page of honour to Christian king of Denmark, and at sixteen gentleman of the bed-chamber to his brother prince George. He probably came to England with the prince, embraced the profession of arms, and after distinguishing himself at the battle of Steenkirk, and in the sieges of Cork and Kinsale, bore an important command in the most memorable operations of his brother. His services and connections, raised him to high military rank and honours.

Arabella, the eldest of the family, and the only daughter, was appointed maid of honour to the duchess of York. In this situation she captivated the duke of York, and bore him two sons, James Fitz James, afterwards marshal Berwick, and Henry, grand prior of France. Also two daughters, Henrietta, who espoused Henry lord Waldegrave, and Elizabeth, who became a nun.

Some time before the revolution, Arabella was deserted by her royal paramour, and remained in England, in comparative obscurity. She appears to have enjoyed a pension on the Irish establishment, under king William, and finally espoused colonel Godfrey, who by the influence of her brother was made keeper of the Jewel Office in the Tower.

* The entry of his burial in the parish register of St. Martin's in the Fields, is dated March 29, 1688. Communicated by the vicar, the Rev. Archdeacon Pott.

In 1697, Sir Winston Churchill was followed to the grave by his widow. As lord Marlborough was in a prosperous situation, and as little provision was made for his brothers and sister, he derived no benefit from his paternal property. The family seat and annexed demesne at Mintern,* were left by lady Churchill, at the desire of her deceased husband, to Charles the third son, in consideration of the money which he had advanced, to discharge his father's debts. By him it was bequeathed to his widow, who on her second marriage with lord Abingdon, conveyed it to his family. It has been since transferred to other proprietors.

Having no mansion, lord Marlborough fixed his principal residence at Sandridge, near St. Albans, a manor belonging to the family of his wife. This estate by the death of Richard Jennings, esq. had devolved on his three sisters and coheiresses, Frances, Sarah, and Barbara. As lady Marlborough was partial to her birth place, her husband gratified her by purchasing the share of the two other sisters, and soon after built a mansion on the spot, which was called Holywell House. This residence and property gave him an interest in the borough of St. Albans, for which place, by his influence with James the second, he obtained a new charter of incorporation. He was chosen the first high steward under the new charter; a post which had always been filled by persons of distinction.

The mansion of Holywell† is described by local writers as a building of great magnificence; and was the favourite residence both of lord Marlborough and his lady, till the construction of Blenheim gave him a new interest in a place, which presented the most striking monuments, both of his own and the national glory.

* Copies of the wills of Sir Winston and lady Churchill in the family papers. The probate of her will is dated 1st March, 1697.

† This estate and mansion being left at the disposal of the duchess, were by her bequeathed to her grand-son John, second son of Charles earl of Sunderland. From him it descended to his son, the first earl Spencer.

CHAPTER 4.

1688—1690.

Marlborough obtains the confidence of the king—Serves a campaign in the Netherlands—Expedition to Ireland—Reduces Cork and Kinsale—Commencement of his clandestine intercourse with the exiled monarch—His campaign in the Netherlands, under the king.

AFTER the conclusion of the arrangements arising out of the Revolution, Marlborough appears to have taken little share in public business, except in the settlement of a revenue on the princess Anne.

The princess having announced her acquiescence in the new order of succession, expected that a permanent and independent revenue would have been secured to her for life; as the king had been allowed no less a sum than £.600,000 a year for the civil list. Instead, however, of gratifying her expectations, he even shewed some reluctance to continue the allowance of £.30,000 a year, which she had enjoyed under her father. She was highly incensed by this disappointment, and testified her resolution to appeal to parliament; while the king and queen were no less offended by her wish to acquire an independent establishment. The subject occasioned the most indecorous altercations between the two royal sisters, and became the source of the subsequent quarrel, which divided the royal family.

Irritated by these bickerings, Anne pursued her purpose with redoubled zeal, and her cause was earnestly promoted by the earl and countess of Marlborough. Her pretensions were warmly supported by the tories and disaffected, while the king would rely only on his own personal friends and the zealous whigs. A considerable majority of the parliament was therefore enlisted on the

side of the princess, and her claims became generally popular among the great body of the nation.

In this state of the public mind, her friends in the house of commons proposed to grant her an independent revenue of £.70,000 a year. To prevent the decision of the question, the king adjourned the parliament. But the princess was of too tenacious a character to relinquish her object, particularly as her party was increased by many who were alienated by the reserve of the king. In this crisis lures and threats were alternately held forth to the countess of Marlborough, with the hope of inducing the princess to desist, through her influence. The countess continued firm, and the question was revived in the house of commons, soon after the commencement of the session. The court now found that opposition was fruitless. By the consent of both parties, the debate was adjourned; and in the interval a compromise was effected, by which an annual allowance of £.50,000 was settled in parliament, as the civil list of the princess.

The success of this measure being principally ascribed by Anne to the exertions of the earl and countess of Marlborough, contributed still more to endear them to her, while it rendered them in an equal degree obnoxious to the king and queen. Anne was not tardy in testifying her gratitude for so acceptable a service; and, in an affectionate letter,* offered her favourite an additional salary of £1,000 a-year. The countess at first declined the generous proposal, from motives of delicacy; but her scruples were over-ruled by the representations of lord Godolphin.†

Though dissatisfied with Marlborough's conduct respecting the settlement of the princess, William was unwilling to lose the services of so able an officer. As his presence was deemed necessary in England, for the regulation of public business, Marlborough

* Letter from the princess to lady Marlborough, partly printed in the *Conduct*, p. 36.

† Journals—Tindal—Boyer—Dalrymple—MS. copies of letters from Mrs. Morley to Mrs. Freeman, with a narrative on the subject, in the hand-writing of the duchess of Marlborough—*Conduct*, p. 36, 37—And a letter supposed to have been written by Mr. Wharton to the king—Dalrymple, vol. 2. b. 4. p. 199.

was intrusted with the command of the British forces acting against the French in the Netherlands.*

On the 27th of May he landed at Rotterdam, and repairing to Maestricht, joined the confederate army, then commanded by the prince of Waldeck. Being inferior to the enemy, they were reduced to act on the defensive, but Marlborough soon found an opportunity to signalise his courage and skill. The hostile armies being separated only by the petty town of Walcourt, the french commander, marshal d'Humieres, on the 25th of August formed the design of surprising his antagonists by an unexpected attack. Fortunately the post of Walcourt was confided to Marlborough, with a force composed of british and foreign troops. He not only checked the advance of the enemy, till the commander in chief could move with the main army; but by a vigorous and well-directed attack on the flank, he discomfited the assailants, and forced them to retreat with a serious loss. To this action the army owed their safety; and the prince of Waldeck did ample justice to the skill and promptitude of his younger associate, by declaring, that he had manifested greater military talents in a single battle, than generals of longer experience had shewn in many years.

In several letters, which are still extant, the king testified his satisfaction at the conduct of Marlborough. They also prove that he performed this exploit, not with troops in high spirit and order, but ill-disciplined, defective in zeal, and labouring under the usual maladies attendant on a long campaign. On the combat of Walcourt, in particular, the king observes:

“ I am very happy that my troops behaved so well in the affair of Walcourt. It is to you that this advantage is principally owing. You will please accordingly to accept my thanks, and rest assured that your conduct will induce me to confer on you still farther marks of my esteem and friendship, on which you may always rely.”†

* Instructions, &c. to the earl of Marlborough, MS. countersigned “ Shrewsbury.”

† Letters of king William to the earl of Marlborough, 16 July, 23 August, and 13 and 23

Returning to England, at the close of the campaign, Marlborough was received with a degree of cordiality which was seldom shewn by so reserved a monarch as William. It seemed natural to expect that he would have been again employed on the theatre where he had acquitted himself with such unqualified approbation; but from some cause, which we are unable to trace, he was not sent to the continent the ensuing campaign. It is, indeed, surmised, and with great probability, that William pressed Marlborough to accompany him to Ireland, whither he was called to contend for the crown with the abdicated monarch himself; but that the earl frankly declined acting against his former sovereign and benefactor. Indeed this supposition is not improbable from his subsequent conduct; for, after the defeat at the Boyne had compelled James to retire to France, he voluntarily tendered his services to reduce Cork and Kinsale, at the time when the presence of William was become necessary in England.

Notwithstanding the obvious necessity of such a vigorous prosecution of the war, before the rebels could again obtain succours from France, it was warmly opposed by several of the ministers in England. Of these the most vehement was the marquis of Caermarthen, who endeavoured to alarm the queen with the prospect of an invasion, at the moment when so large a force as was required for this enterprise should be drawn out of the kingdom. A reference was made to William, who was still in Ireland; and the timid counsels of the minister being over-ruled, Marlborough, with a body of 5,000 men, embarked at Portsmouth for the scene of action.

The departure of the king at this juncture, created general exultation among the partisans of James in Ireland. They flattered themselves that it would enable them to regain the advantage they had lost; but their hopes were damped by the sudden appearance of Marlborough. They were still farther discouraged by the

of September.—Marlborough Papers. Also Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 93. *Histoire du Duc de Marlborough*, t. 1, p. 56. Henault, 1689.

desertion of the duke de Lauzun, with the French auxiliaries, who being panic-struck by the arrival of the reinforcement, abandoned Galway, and returned to France.

Marlborough landed near Cork on the 21st of September, and united with the german and danish troops, who were left under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg. At this moment he experienced those vexatious squabbles, which often arise when high birth and military talents are brought into competition. But by the interposition of brigadier La Mellonerie, a french refugee, a compromise was effected, and the two generals agreed to exercise the command alternately. The first day Marlborough gave *Wirtemberg* as the word; and the compliment was returned by his colleague. The vigour and enterprising spirit of the british general excited equal surprise and satisfaction. During his short stay in Ireland, which did not exceed thirty-seven days, he reduced Cork and Kinsale, straitened the communications of the insurgents with France, and confined them to the province of Ulster, where they could not subsist without the utmost difficulty.

After this short but brilliant expedition, Marlborough returned with his prisoners to England, in the latter end of October. He was welcomed with the most flattering reception by the king, who said of him, "I know no man who has served so few campaigns, equally fit for command." The english nation also, long accustomed to see the execution of the most important enterprises confided to foreigners, exulted to find that a native officer had gained more advantages in a single month, than many of the foreign generals in several campaigns.

As the services of Marlborough were still deemed necessary in Ireland, he made but a short stay in England. Having reported the state of affairs, he immediately returned, and resumed his command. Till the close of the year he kept the greater part of the island in perfect tranquillity; and conciliated the affections of the inhabitants by his moderation, as well as by the rigid discipline which he established in the army. He checked the incursions of the rebels, who still remained in arms, and secured the advantage

he had gained, by constructing forts in several of the provinces. Having thus restored order, he was summoned to England, preparatory to his nomination to a new command on the continent. The estimation in which he was now held by his sovereign is proved from a confidential correspondence, in which it appears that he was employed to soothe his friend Godolphin, who threatened to relinquish the management of the treasury. In this negotiation he at length succeeded, no less to his own gratification than to that of the king.*

Nothing perhaps can be more singular, if there be any thing singular in times of revolution, than to find two noblemen who had so essentially contributed to the stability of William's throne, as Marlborough and Godolphin, at this very period engaged in a clandestine correspondence with the exiled monarch. But such is the inconsistency of human nature; and such is the fact which has been disclosed by the publication of papers from the pens of James and his confidential adherents.†

This conduct, which it is impossible to justify, yet admits of some palliation, if we consider the circumstances of the times, and the influence of example. The minds of men were not yet become fixed, nor their affections attached to a government of recent origin, and founded on principles which were far from being generally acknowledged. Besides, among the higher orders there were few who did not deem their services undervalued, their zeal ill rewarded, their hopes disappointed, or their pretensions overlooked; while among the great mass of the people, a vast number either became indifferent to the advantages attending the change of government, or were no less dissatisfied with the reigning sovereign than they had been with his predecessor. Hence we find an intercourse with the exiled family maintained by persons of all ranks and parties, not excepting even some of the active partisans of the revolution.

* Correspondence between king William, the earl of Marlborough, and lord Godolphin, in 1690-1.—Dalrymple, App. p. 2, b. 7.

† Life of James the Second, vol. 2, p. 444.

In a species of infidelity so extensive, which is the prevailing vice of a revolutionary period, it is matter rather of regret than of surprise, to find Marlborough implicated. For this conduct various causes may be assigned. Deeply indebted to the favour of James, it was not till after an anxious struggle between duty and gratitude, that he resolved to abandon his benefactor. The preceding pages will shew his feelings at that interesting crisis; and prove that he was not actuated by personal interest or ambition. Though dissatisfied with the arrangements introduced at the revolution, he yet acquiesced in the change when accomplished; and by accepting honours and employments under the new sovereign, he gave an unqualified assent to the established government. Soon afterwards, however, he, as well as many others of all denominations, was alienated by the endeavours of the king to break down the barriers devised for the security of the national church, and to facilitate the admission of dissenters into the offices of government; a measure scarcely less obnoxious to the tories than the introduction of catholics to the whigs. He was also offended by the cold and repulsive deportment of William towards those who had assisted in the revolution, and the imprudent preference which he uniformly displayed towards his foreign favourites. But the motive which seems more particularly to have actuated Marlborough, as well as many of those who entered into communications with the court of St. Germain, was, the apprehension that a change of public sentiment might eventually restore king James to the throne of his ancestors.

Under the apparent influence of these considerations, Marlborough listened to the overtures of the exiled monarch as early as the commencement of 1691, and through colonel Sackville and Mr. Bulkeley, two of the jacobite agents, he testified in the most unqualified terms his contrition for his past conduct, and anxiety to make amends for his defection. From this period both he and his friend Godolphin occasionally maintained a clandestine intercourse with the court of St. Germain, and even made many communications on the state of public affairs and domestic transactions.

On this intercourse we do not mean to throw the slightest doubt. Still, however, we can admit as the genuine language of Marlborough, only the few letters which he wrote to James, and which are either preserved or specifically mentioned, in the biographical narrative of that monarch; for the reports of spies naturally assume the tincture of their character and views; and such agents are invariably led to exaggeration, either to give interest to their intelligence, or to magnify their zeal and services. In fact, we have the candid avowal of James himself, that Marlborough when pressed to fulfil the promises he was said to have made, constantly evaded compliance. We must therefore draw the obvious conclusion, not only that the jacobite agents deceived their employer, but that these professions and communications were merely illusory, and intended to secure an indemnity in case of a counter-revolution. This inference has been so clearly drawn by the monarch himself, that we cannot better express our opinion than in the words of his biographer.

After adverting to the very communication in question, he observes :

“ Nevertheless the king found no effects from these mighty promises, for his majesty insisting upon his offer of bringing over the english troops in Flanders, as the greatest service he could do him, he excused himself *under pretence that there was some mistake in the message* ;* that it would ruin all to make the troops come over by parcels ; that his business was to gain an absolute power over them, then to do all the business at once.”

Having related the mode in which Marlborough obtained a promise of pardon for himself, his lady, lord Godolphin, and others, he adds :

“ So that, in fine, they were to be pardoned and in security, in case the king returned, and yet suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity, than bare words and

* This remark justifies the conclusion that the jacobite agents had exaggerated the offers of Marlborough.

empty promises, which, under pretence of greater service here afterwards, there was never found a suitable time to put the least of them in execution. However, the king thought fit to bear with this sort of double dealing, &c.”*

This intercourse was either not suspected, or not regarded; for the success of Marlborough in Ireland was the prelude to his establishment in an honourable and confidential post, under William himself. In May, 1691, he accompanied the king to the continent; and was employed in accelerating the military preparations, and assembling the troops for the ensuing campaign. On this occasion he experienced that jealous opposition from the States General and their officers, which afterwards defeated his more important undertakings. Among other suggestions he strongly recommended measures for the security of Mons, the barrier of Flanders; but his advice was rejected, and the place was lost. During this campaign his merit attracted particular notice; and induced discerning judges to prognosticate his future celebrity. Among others, the prince of Vaudemont, being asked by the king to give his opinion on the characters of the english generals, replied, “Kirk has fire, Laneir thought, Mackay skill, and Colchester bravery; but there is something inexpressible in the earl of Marlborough. All their virtues seem to be united in his single person. I have lost,” he emphatically added, “my wonted skill in physiognomy, if any subject of your majesty can ever attain such a height of military glory, as that to which this combination of sublime perfections must raise him.” William acknowledged the propriety of the observation by replying, with a smile, “Cousin, you have done your part in answering my question; and I believe the earl of Marlborough will do his to verify your prediction.”†

At the conclusion of the campaign Marlborough returned to England, and landed on the 19th of October. He was then

* Life of James, vol. 2, p. 449.

† Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 30. The writer states, that he received the anecdote from pensionary Heinsius, who was present at the conversation.

apparently high in the confidence and esteem of the sovereign, for he was one of the generals appointed to serve the ensuing year. Indeed the manifest preference which he enjoyed, excited the envy of many among the ministers. We find the marquis of Caermarthen in particular designating him, even to the queen, as the "general of favour," and interfering so invidiously in military business as to draw from Marlborough an indignant appeal to the king.* The countenance of the monarch, however, supported him amidst these petty vexations, and the year closed with the same flattering prospects which had marked its commencement.

* Marlborough to king William, Feb. 17, 1691.—Dalrymple, App. to b. 2, part 7. These bickerings are frequently alluded to in Queen Mary's Letters to king William, App. to b. 5.

CHAPTER 5.

1692.

Contentions between the king and queen and the princess Anne—Marlborough's remonstrances against the king's partiality towards his dutch adherents—Dismissed from all his employments—Cabal against him by the earl of Portland and the Villiers family—Refusal of the princess to dismiss the countess—Breach between the two courts—The princess removes to Berkley House—Marlborough arrested on a charge of high treason—Circumstances of his arrest—Committed to the tower—Causes of his dismissal and detention—His intercourse with the exiled family—Admitted to bail—Struck from the list of privy-counsellors—Discussions on the subject in parliament—Discharged from bail.

NOTWITHSTANDING this apparent favour, Marlborough soon felt the natural effects of his delicate connection with the actual possessor, and the presumptive heiress to the crown. We have already traced the commencement of the contentions between the king and the princess Anne, which successive incidents continued to increase. Among other causes of dissatisfaction, she was offended by the rejection of an offer made by the prince her husband, to serve on board of the fleet, and still more by the mode in which it was conveyed.* Such bickerings could have failed to recoil on Marlborough and his countess, even had he not rendered himself particularly obnoxious by his indiscreet remonstrances against the king's bounty to his foreign adherents; and by his contemptuous treatment of the earl of Portland, whom he publicly stigmatised as a wooden fellow.† The odium which

* Conduct, p. 38.

† In one of lord Godolphin's letters to Marlborough, he designates Portland as "him whom you used to call 'un homme de bois.'" The duchess also, in one of her narratives, says, her husband used to call the earl of Portland "a wooden fellow."

he thus incurred, was manifested by the refusal of the king to confer on him the order of the garter, though it was earnestly solicited both by the prince and princess of Denmark.*

Such mutual irritation could not long continue without producing an open rupture. Accordingly, on the evening of January 9, 1692, an indecorous altercation took place between the two royal sisters; and the queen did not hesitate to threaten the princess with a reduction of her revenue to one half of the actual amount.† Whether Marlborough and his lady were implicated in this uncourtly scene is uncertain; but he felt the first public effect of the royal displeasure. On the ensuing morning, after fulfilling his usual duties, as lord of the bed-chamber, he received an order from the king, through lord Nottingham, secretary of state, announcing his dismissal from all his offices, both civil and military, and prohibiting his appearance at court.

This affront towards a faithful servant rankled in the mind of the princess; and a gloomy reserve prevailed in the royal family, which portended a new commotion. At this moment, also, the enemies whom Marlborough had provoked by his remonstrances and sarcasms, omitted no effort to widen the breach. A powerful cabal was formed by the earl of Portland and the family of Villiers,‡ whose intrigues were rendered more dangerous by their intimate access to the king. To this cabal belonged lady Fitzharding, a sister of the countess of Portland, who availed herself of her situation in the household of the princess, and the confidence of lady Marlborough, to act as a spy on the conduct of the princess and her favourite; and to report, in aggravated terms, the

* Dalrymple.

† Letter from the princess Anne to lady Marlborough, printed in the *Conduct*, p. 83 and 84, and several others unpublished.

‡ Edward Villiers, afterwards successively created baron Villiers, and earl of Jersey, was in high favour with king William, to whom his sister Elizabeth was mistress, and at the same time his lady enjoyed the confidence of queen Mary. Viscountess Fitzharding was his third sister; and the fourth was married to the earl of Portland. During the whole reign of William this family exercised prodigious influence; a circumstance which was the more extraordinary, because he himself was considered as a Jacobite, and his wife was a bigotted Catholic.

indecorous and insulting language, which they habitually used in speaking of the king.*

As early as January 29, an anonymous letter was conveyed to the princess, indicating this cabal, and announcing that the disgrace of Marlborough would not terminate with his dismissal; but that, on the prorogation of parliament, he would be imprisoned. This correspondent also stated, that the tears which she had been seen to shed, since the disgrace of Marlborough, had provoked the king and queen, and that the meeting which he held with Godolphin and Russel on the evening of his dismissal, had excited great jealousy at court. It concluded with apprizing the princess, that she would be compelled to dismiss lady Marlborough.†

This informant was not widely mistaken. The countess, who had absented herself from court since the disgrace of her lord, was at length persuaded by her friends to attend the princess at the levée of the queen, on the 4th of February. Such an imprudent step, which was far from being prompted by motives of respect, was considered as a premeditated insult. On the ensuing morning a harsh letter was conveyed from the queen, commanding the princess to dismiss lady Marlborough without delay. Instead, however, of complying, she still farther provoked the queen by a justification of her favourite, and an order was transmitted by the lord chamberlain, enjoining the countess to remove from the palace of Whitehall. The order was the prelude to an utter breach. Anne, disdaining to remain in a place from whence her friend and confi-

* In the indorsement of a letter from lady Fitzharding, the duchess admits the indiscretion of her language, and says, it was reported to the king and queen. In similar indorsements to letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards lady Orkney, she states, that this lady overheard much of this imprudent language, and that she was in the cabal against the earl of Marlborough. In fact, when we find even in the letters of the princess, such epithets applied to William, as 'the monster,' 'Caliban,' and 'the dutch abortion,' we cannot suppose that the style of her favourite was more decorous, or their ordinary conversation more guarded. These offensive terms the duchess has carefully expunged from all the letters of the princess, which she has printed in her *Conduct*, and has even erased them in the originals.

† Anonymous letter to the princess of Denmark, Jan. 29, 1692, M. P.

dante was excluded, quitted her own apartments, and, after a temporary stay at Sion Hill, the seat of the duke of Somerset, established her residence at Berkley House.

Common resentment and common mortification gave new strength to the romantic affection which subsisted between the princess and her favourite. To an offer made by the countess of withdrawing from her service, Anne replied with the most tender expostulations, asseverating that she was not the cause of the rupture which had occurred. In one of her notes, she observes "I really long to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman got home; and now I have this opportunity of writing, she must give me leave to tell her, if she should ever be so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. Morley, she will rob her of the joy of her life; for if that day should come, I should never enjoy another happy minute; and I swear to you I would shut myself up, and never see a creature."*

Before the surprise occasioned by the preceding incidents had subsided, Marlborough was suddenly arrested, on the 5th of May, on a charge of high treason. Warrants were likewise issued against the earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Dr. Spratt, bishop of Rochester. Several other persons were also taken into custody, particularly lord Middleton, the lords Griffin and Dunmore, sir John Fenwick, and colonels Slingsby and Sackville, all of whom were known partisans of the Stuart family.

The moment of these arrests was a crisis of peculiar danger and alarm; for a french fleet was on the point of sailing, to convey the dethroned monarch, with a large body of troops, to the british shores. The avowed jacobites were consequently seized by way of precaution, and not on any specific charge. With regard to the earls of Marlborough and Scarsdale, and the bishop of Rochester, the case was different, though the time and mode of their detention seemed to involve them in the designs which popular opinion ascribed to the rest. In fact, they were arrested in consequence of an atrocious scheme, formed by one Robert

* Conduct, p. 82.

Young, then imprisoned in Newgate for the non-payment of a fine. This wretch, who was expert in counterfeiting hands, drew up an association in favour of James the second, to which he annexed the signatures of the earls of Marlborough and Scarsdale, the bishop of Rochester, lord Cornbury, and sir Basil Firebrass. To give additional colour to his scheme, he also forged several letters from Marlborough. By the agency of Stephen Blackhead, a confederate equally infamous, he found means to secrete the fictitious association in the palace belonging to the bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, in Kent. On the information of Young the palace was searched, and the paper being found, measures were immediately adopted to secure the supposed delinquents.

As peers could not be arrested except on an affidavit, Young made the customary deposition for drawing up the several warrants. When that against Marlborough was presented to the cabinet council, for approbation, three of the members, the earls of Devonshire and Bradford, and lord Montagu, appear to have been struck by the infamous character of the accuser; and instead of affixing their signatures, contemptuously handed it to those sitting next.* It was however sanctioned by the majority, and was carried into execution.

In the language of conscious innocence, Marlborough made an immediate appeal to those members of the administration in whose integrity he confided. To the earl of Devonshire, lord high steward, he wrote:

“I am so confident of my innocence, and so convinced, if there be any such letter, that it must appear to be forged, and made use of only to keep me in prison, that I cannot doubt but your lordship will be so kind as to let me find your protection against such a proceeding, which will be a reproach to the government, as well as an injury to, yours,” &c.

He made a similar appeal to the marquis of Caermarthen, pre-

* Conduct, p. 62. In corroboration of this anecdote, preserved by the duchess, it may be proper to observe that lord Bradford visited Marlborough in the Tower.

sident of the council, whose judgment he was convinced would not be biassed by the remembrance of their former contentions.

“ Having been informed that it is now publicly discoursed in Westminster-hall to-day, that a letter under my hand was to be produced to the grand jury, to induce them to find a bill against me, I beg leave to assure your lordship, upon my honour and credit, that, if any such letter be pretended, it must and will, upon examination, appear so plainly to have been forged, that as it can be of no credit or advantage to the government, so I doubt not but your lordship's justice will be ready to protect me from so injurious a proceeding, who am, &c.”*

The arrest of Marlborough, though not unforeseen, struck a panic into the court of Berkley House. We find a letter of condolence, written by the princess to her favourite, as soon as the news had transpired :

“ I hear lord Marlborough is sent to the Tower ; and though I am certain they have nothing against him, and expected by your letter it would be so, yet I was struck when I was told it ; for methinks it is a dismal thing to have one's friends sent to that place. I have a thousand melancholy thoughts, and cannot help fearing they should hinder you from coming to me ; though how they can do that, without making you a prisoner, I cannot imagine.

“ I am just told by pretty good hands, that as soon as the wind turns westerly, there will be a guard set upon the prince and me. If you hear there is any such thing designed, and that 'tis easy to you, pray let me see you before the wind changes ; for afterwards one does not know whether they will let one have opportunities of speaking to one another. But let them do what they please, nothing shall ever vex me, so I can have the satisfaction of seeing dear Mrs. Freeman ; and I swear I would live on bread and water, between four walls, with her, without repining ; for as long as you continue kind, nothing can ever be a real mortification to your faithful Mrs. Morley, who wishes she may never enjoy a

* From copies in the hand-writing of the duchess.—Marlborough Papers.

moment's happiness, in this world or the next, if ever she proves false to you."*

Whether the hint which the princess conveys, of a design to place her and her consort under restraint, was an effect of mere rumour; or whether William was unwilling to hazard so decisive a measure, we cannot ascertain. But the princess suffered no other mortification than the imprisonment of her zealous adherent, and the loss of the honours attached to her high station.

In endeavouring to trace the causes of this mysterious transaction, we must distinguish between the disgrace and arrest, and the subsequent detention of Marlborough.

Some who were well acquainted with his early history, especially the duchess, ascribe his disgrace and imprisonment to the zeal he displayed in promoting the grant of a permanent revenue to the princess of Denmark.† Others have imputed these mortifications to the jealousy which his popularity and military talents raised in the mind of William; to an accusation that he attempted to sow divisions in the army;‡ and to his disclosure of a design formed for the surprize of Dunkirk. Finally, the cause has been sought in the bickerings between the two courts, and the imprudent remonstrances which Marlborough presumed to make against the partiality of the king towards his dutch adherents, and his reserve towards the English.

Of all these different conjectures, the last alone is sufficient to account for the dismissal of Marlborough: for the magnanimous character of William exempts him from the slightest imputation of personal jealousy; the charge of endeavouring to sow divisions in the army was a mere vague rumour of the day; the design against Dunkirk did not take place till the ensuing August; and

* Marlborough Papers, Copy.

† Conduct.

‡ Lord Basil Hamilton in a letter to the duke of Hamilton, Jan. 29, 1692, announcing the dismissal of Marlborough, observes, "Every body makes their guesses what are his crimes. Some say he was endeavouring to breed divisions in the army, and to make himself the more necessary; besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence between the princess and the court. Dalrymple, vol. 3, p. 256.

the earl was confidentially employed by the king, more than two years after the discussion relative to the revenue of the princess.

For Marlborough's subsequent detention, we must seek another cause, namely, his clandestine intercourse with the exiled family. We have already adverted to the commencement of that intercourse; and whether the motive which induced him to listen to the overtures of the Stuart agents, arose from disgust with William, or the fear of a counter-revolution, we cannot doubt that it must have operated with double force, during the course of the preceding winter, when he was personally implicated in the dispute between the princess and the king; and when a powerful expedition was preparing in the french ports, to restore the exiled monarch. So general was the panic felt on this occasion, that even the princess of Denmark herself made overtures to her father, towards the close of 1691.* Such a correspondence could not have entirely escaped the vigilance of William; and he might naturally have ascribed the overture of the princess to the advice of Marlborough and his countess, who possessed her full confidence. But whatever were his suspicions, the evidence on which they were founded was too slender to justify severer measures; for otherwise the powerful cabal, whom Marlborough had so grievously offended, would scarcely have failed to push their vengeance farther than mere detention.

* The letter from the princess Anne to her dethroned father, which is printed in Clarke's Life, vol. 2, p. 477, was dated December 1, 1691; but the king observes, that he did not receive it till after the battle of La Hogue, though he seems to hint that previous overtures from her were among the reasons which prompted him to undertake the expedition.

On the conduct of Marlborough he again observes:

"The correspondence with my lord Churchill was still kept up, for though so much former treachery, and so little other proofs of a change than words and protestation, made his intentions liable to suspicion; yet he put so plausible a face upon his reasons and actions, that if they were not accompanied with truth and sincerity, they had at least a specious appearance of fair and honest dealing; and had this reason above all others to be credited, that not only he but his [blank in original] was out of favour with the prince of Orange, and reaped no other benefit for their past infidelities, than the infamy of having committed them; and the most interested men's repentance may be credited, when they can reasonably hope to mend their fortune by repairing their fault, and better their condition by returning to their duty." Vol. 2, p. 476.

The atrocious forgery of Young, was detected the instant he was confronted with the bishop of Rochester. Accordingly the prelate, and all those implicated in the same charge, except Marlborough, were released without delay. Even the arrested Jacobites were liberated, when the defeat of the french fleet off La Hogue had dissipated the alarm of invasion. But although the guilt of Young and his associate was legally substantiated,* and although they suffered a severe punishment for their offence, Marlborough was detained in custody till the 15th of June, the last day of the term. He was then admitted to bail in the court of King's-bench, on the surety of the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquess of Halifax, the earl of Carbury, and Mr. Boyle.

Still, however, some suspicion was entertained of his fidelity, or his enemies did not deem him sufficiently mortified; for on the 23rd of June his own name, and those of his two sureties, the marquess of Halifax and the earl of Shrewsbury, were erased from the list of privy counsellors. Such severe measures created much dissatisfaction. Admiral Russel in particular, who had acquired additional consideration from his recent victory off La Hogue, strongly remonstrated with the king on the harshness shewn towards a nobleman who had contributed to place the crown on his head.†

At the commencement of Michaelmas term, Marlborough, with his sureties, applied to be discharged from their recognisance. Their demand being rejected, they, on the meeting of parliament, appealed to the house of peers, as well against his detention, without any specific charge, as against the subsequent refusal to release his bail. The appeal was warmly supported by Shrewsbury, who

* The duchess asserts that when Young was about to suffer death, for another crime, he confessed with great contrition, that he had obtained the earl of Marlborough's seal and signature by writing to him under the name of a country gentleman, requesting the character of a domestic who had lived in his service. Marlborough acknowledged, when the forged papers were shown him, that the hand-writing was so exactly imitated as to have deceived even himself, had he not been conscious that he had never signed such an association.

† Burnett—Ledyard.

represented Marlborough as ungratefully and unjustly treated; and the question gave rise to several vehement debates. At length the king terminated the discussion by discharging the recognisance, and the house of peers vindicated their privileges, by a declaration against such arrests and detention of their members in future. The ministers were exonerated by a bill of indemnity.*

* Journals and Chandler's Debates for 1692. MS. notes and letters in the Marlborough Papers—Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough, p. 60—Other side of the Question, p. 82—Lives of Marlborough and Eugene, p. 31—Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 104—Tindal, vol. 13, p. 511—Ralph, vol. 2, p. 329—Burnet, vol. 4, p. 133. 148. 152—Dalrymple, vol. 3, p. 234.

AFTER his liberation, the earl of Marlborough was estranged from the court. His income being reduced by the loss of his lucrative employments, he alternately resided at his mansion of Sandridge, and in the apartments which his lady occupied at Berkeley House. The princess, indeed, considered him as the victim of her cause, and proposed to create in her household a new place in his favour, with a salary of £1,000 a year; but the prince's offer was respectfully declined. Soon after this period, attempts were made to soothe the resentment of the king. A new administration being formed under the auspices of the duke of Shrewsbury, of which Godolphin and Russell were members, Shrewsbury availed himself of the opportunity, during the ill success of the war on the continent, to recommend Marlborough to him. In a letter to the king, dated May 23, 1694, he observes, "Writing on this subject, it is impossible to forget what is now become a very general discourse, the popularity and convenience of receiving lord Marlborough into

CHAPTER 6.

1692—1697.

Marlborough continues in disgrace—Offer of his services to king William declined—Death of queen Mary, and reconciliation of the king with the princess of Denmark—Correspondence of Marlborough with the exiled family—Discloses the intended enterprise against Brest—Affair of Sir John Fenwick—His charges against Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Russel—Discussion on the subject in Parliament—Attainder and execution of Fenwick—Marlborough made governor to the duke of Gloucester—Restored to his military rank, and employments—Supports the preceptor, bishop Burnet, against the attacks of the tories—Death of the duke of Gloucester.

AFTER his liberation, the earl of Marlborough was estranged from the court. His income being reduced by the loss of his lucrative employments, he alternately resided at his mansion of Sandridge, and in the apartments which his lady occupied at Berkley House. The princess, indeed, considered him as the victim of her cause, and proposed to create in her household a new place in his favour, with a salary of £.1,000 a-year; but the generous offer was respectfully declined.*

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* Conduct, p. 285.

your favour. He has been with me, since this news, to offer his service, with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable. What I can say by way of persuasion, upon this subject, will signify but little, since I very well remember, when your majesty discoursed with me upon it, in the spring, you were sufficiently convinced of his usefulness. But some points remained of a delicate nature, too tender for me to pretend to advise upon, and of which your majesty is the only judge. If these could be accommodated to your majesty's satisfaction, I cannot but think he is capable of being very serviceable. It is so unquestionably his interest to be faithful, that that single argument makes me not doubt it."*

The reply of William was cold, but decisive, though it throws no light on the causes of his displeasure.

"July 16, 1694. In regard to what you wrote in your last concerning lord Marlborough, I can say no more, than that I do not think it for the good of my service, to intrust the command of my troops to him."†

Towards the close of the year, a melancholy event occurred, which produced a change in the situation of the royal family. This was, the death of queen Mary, which happened on the 28th of December, 1694.

Since the unfortunate rupture, which followed the disgrace of Marlborough, various attempts had been made to mediate a reconciliation between the queen and princess, but without effect; because the offended dignity of Mary vanquished her affection as a sister, and in her last moments her disorder was too malignant, as well as her dissolution too sudden, for her to receive the overtures made by the princess.

The death of the queen placed William in a new and critical situation. Many had begun to suggest doubts of his right to the crown; and some even argued, that as the parliament had been summoned in the joint names of the king and queen, it was dissolved by the death of either. Had the princess abetted these objections,

* Shrewsbury Papers.

† King William to the duke of Shrewsbury—Shrewsbury Papers.

she might doubtless have created much confusion in the state, and formed a party dangerous to the authority of the king. But instead of testifying the slightest wish to question his rights, she made an affectionate appeal to his feelings, in a letter of condolence, expressing her extreme concern at having incurred the displeasure of the deceased queen, and declaring her readiness to wait on him and give proofs of respect for his person, and zeal for his interest.*

At the moment when this spontaneous overture had produced its effect, lord Somers, who had long regretted the feuds in the royal family, repaired to the palace of Kensington. He found the king sitting at the end of his closet, in an agony of grief, more acute than seemed consonant to his phlegmatic temper. Absorbed in reflection, William took no notice of the intrusion, till Somers himself broke silence, by proposing to terminate the unhappy difference with the princess. The king replied, "My lord, do what you will; I can think of no business!" To a repetition of the proposal, the same answer was returned. By the agency of Somers an interview was accordingly arranged, in which the king received the princess with cordiality, and informed her that the palace of St. James's should be appropriated for her future residence.†

This reconciliation was, however, rather apparent than real. As the resentment of both parties had sunk too deep to be easily eradicated, it was followed by no farther proof of returning affection or confidence.

It is gratifying to observe that the efforts of Marlborough were strenuously exerted to restore peace in the royal family. The duke of Shrewsbury, in a letter to admiral Russel, dated June 29, 1695, does ample justice to his disinterested zeal on this occasion. "Since the queen's death, and the reconciliation between the king and princess, her court is as much courted as it was before deserted. She has omitted no opportunity to shew her zeal for

* This letter is printed in the *Conduct*, p. 108.

† Mrs. Burnet to the duchess of Marlborough, in 1704.

his majesty and his government; and our friend,* who has no small credit with her, seems very resolved to contribute to the continuance of this union, as the only thing that can support either or both. I do not see him likely, at present, to get much by it, not having yet kissed the king's hand; but his reversion is very fair and great."†

Notwithstanding this laudable interposition, Marlborough remained for some time in the same state of exclusion; and a considerable interval elapsed before he was even admitted into the royal presence. He however, regularly attended in the house of peers; and in the addresses and protests we observe his name frequently associated with those of his friend, the earl of Rochester, and other zealous Tories.

During the interval between the liberation of Marlborough, and the death of queen Mary, we find him, in conjunction with Godolphin, and many others, continuing a clandestine intercourse with the exiled family. On the 2nd of May, 1694, only a few days before he offered his services to king William, he communicated to James, through colonel Sackville, intelligence of an expedition, then fitted out, for the purpose of destroying the fleet in Brest harbour. Godolphin, though a minister, is even said to have made the same disclosure on the preceding day. We are far from attempting to palliate this act of infidelity; yet from the time and circumstances of the communication, we are inclined to regard it in no other light than as one of the various expedients adopted by Marlborough and others, to regain the good will of their former sovereign, that their demerits might be overlooked in the event of a restoration.

This inference may fairly be drawn from all the circumstances attending the expedition. The communication is said to have been made by Godolphin on the first of May; and on the second, by Marlborough, through colonel Sackville. This was only the day before the English fleet put to sea. Allowing for the time re-

* Lord Marlborough.

† Shrewsbury Papers.

quisite to convey the information to St. Germain, it evidently could not have been the cause that the Brest fleet escaped, and joined that of Toulon; for it had sailed even before admiral Russel reached Portsmouth to assume the command. As little could it have been the cause of the ultimate failure; for the magnitude and nature of the preparations must have indicated to the enemy the object of attack, long before such information could reach the french court.* In fact some letters which passed between admiral Russel and Shrewsbury,† prove that they considered the expedition as hopeless so early as the beginning of May. They concur in ascribing the failure to the delays which arose, and the inadequacy of the land force employed, and they admit that these delays gave the enemy ample time to mature all his measures of defence.

But whatever were the real motives of Marlborough, in this and similar communications to the exiled monarch, his intercourse with the Stuart agents could not be concealed; and a proof of the danger to which he exposed himself, occurred in the case of sir John Fenwick.

Fenwick was one of the most notorious jacobites, and deeply implicated in the plot to assassinate king William. Being arrested in his attempt to escape, his guilt was proved by an intercepted letter, which he had addressed to his wife. After strongly denying the charges against him, in his examination before the lords justices, he was confounded by the production of this letter, and offered to purchase his pardon by an ample disclosure, provided he was excused from appearing as an evidence. His request being denied, he threw himself on the royal mercy.

To prove his contrition, he delivered to the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, who, by the king's order, visited him in the

* This letter from Marlborough appears in Clarke's Life of James, vol. 2, p. 522, in the original. Macpherson has given a re-translation from the french translation; and has added some remarks relative to admiral Russel, which do not appear in the abstract preserved by the biographer of James—Macpherson's Papers, vol. 1, p. 527.

† Shrewsbury Papers.

tower, a written confession, containing vague accounts of the plots and projects of the jacobites, and obscure allusions to certain persons, who were stated to be intrusted with the management of king James's affairs in England. Being required to specify these persons, he delivered other papers, in which he named the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Marlborough and Bath, lord Godolphin, admiral Russel, and others of less note. He also indicated the services which they were respectively to perform; stating in particular, that king James deemed himself secure of the army by means of lord Marlborough. He added, that Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Russel, had accepted pardons from their former sovereign.

As these accusations were too ill defined, and ill supported, to obtain credit, Fenwick was ordered for trial. But from the absence of the duke of Devonshire, in the country, and the expectation of the king's return from the continent, the prosecution was deferred. The delay afforded his friends an opportunity of tampering with Goodman, a principal witness against him, who was bribed to escape beyond sea. Captain Porter, the second witness affected to listen to similar proposals; but betrayed the attempt to government; and contrived that his conversation with lady Mary Fenwick should be over heard, and the fact substantiated. Still, however, as Porter alone remained, Fenwick hoped to escape, because the law of treason requires the crime to be proved by two competent witnesses.

The accusations against persons so high in rank and confidence, produced a great sensation. Godolphin, who was naturally timid, caught the alarm, and withdrew from office;* and Shrewsbury

* It is singular that the resignation, or rather dismissal, of lord Godolphin, from the office of first commissioner of the treasury, in October 1696, is scarcely noticed by historians. Ralph mentions him as not being one of the lords justices in 1697, without appearing to be aware of his resignation. The fact is, that he was alarmed at Fenwick's accusation; and the distinction made by the king between Shrewsbury, and Russel, and the tories. As he was obnoxious to Sunderland, that artful statesman availed himself of these circumstances, and persuaded him to offer his resignation, which was accepted by the king. Letters from Somers and Wharton to the duke of Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury Papers.

was unable to appear in his own vindication, being detained in the country by the consequences of a fall from his horse. The resignation of one of these noblemen, and the absence of the other, gave rise to such injurious surmises, that it was deemed proper to bring the matter before the cognisance of parliament.

Accordingly, on the 6th of November, soon after the opening of the session, admiral Russel, with the king's consent, submitted the papers and proceedings relative to sir John Fenwick to the house of commons. The prisoner was then brought to the bar, and publicly questioned, on the charges which he had advanced against each individual. Colonel Godfrey, the brother in law of Marlborough, in particular, required him to declare, whether since the beginning of the war the earl had held with him any communication whatever; what was the service on the performance of which king James promised a pardon; and lastly, whether he could prove, by any testimony beside his own, that the accused peer had sent Lloyd, one of the principal agents, to France. To these and other queries relating to the persons implicated, Fenwick declined replying, under the plea that his answers might criminate himself. In consequence of this evasion, he was ordered to withdraw. Russel then vindicated himself, in an animated speech; and was followed by several other members, who were interested to justify their own conduct or that of their friends. The question was finally put to the vote, and the charges declared false and scandalous, without a division.

As the want of witnesses prevented a regular process in the ordinary courts of justice, a bill of attainder against Fenwick, for his design on the life of the king, was immediately brought into the house of commons. Yet although little doubt was entertained of his guilt, such a measure was regarded as a dangerous precedent. After several warm discussions, in which it was evidently made a party question, it passed on the 25th of November, by a majority of only twenty-three voices.

On the first of December the bill was transmitted to the lords. After the papers of accusation, examined by the commons, had

been read, Marlborough rose and addressed the house: "I do not wonder," he observed, "to find a man in danger willing to throw his guilt upon others. I feel great satisfaction in being named in such good company; but I assure your lordships, on my word and honour, that since the government of the present king, I have never held any conversation with sir John Fenwick, on any account whatsoever." Lords Godolphin and Bath each vindicated himself in a similar manner. The question was then taken into consideration; and, in a house unusually full, the peers accused were declared to have given a satisfactory justification, and the charges of Fenwick were stigmatised as calumnious.*

In the house of peers the bill of attainder was less treated as a party question, than in the house of commons; but it encountered still stronger opposition on the same grounds. Not only the adherents of the exiled family, and the high tories, but even some of the warmest friends of government argued against it, particularly the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, lord Pembroke, privy seal, the duke of Leeds, lord president, and even Sunderland, confidential adviser of the king.† After a tedious investigation, and several debates of peculiar vehemence, it passed by a majority of only seven. A protest was entered against it, by no fewer than forty-one peers, among whom was the earl of Bath, though himself one of the accused.

In the course of the discussion, a new disclosure awakened equal disgust, astonishment, and horror. The wife of sir John Fenwick delivered to the house a paper of instructions, which had been sent to her husband, through the duchess of Norfolk, by lord Monmouth, afterwards earl of Peterborough, containing explicit

* It is remarkable that no trace of Marlborough's speech appears in any printed account. It is given from a letter of lord Wharton to the duke of Shrewsbury, dated December 1, 1696. Shrewsbury Papers.

† There is reason to believe that the king himself was against the bill of attainder. The prince of Denmark voted for it; but in a letter from lord Somers to the duke of Shrewsbury, Dec. 24, 1696, it is said that he came late, and was brought with difficulty, *and that the difficulty did not proceed from himself.*

directions to the criminal how to conduct his defence, so as to implicate those against whom he had advanced his charges. Godolphin was to be accused of corresponding with the exiled queen, and lords Portland and Romney were to be questioned relative to intercepted letters from him, which had been shewn to the king. In regard to the duke of Shrewsbury, an appeal was to be made to the king himself, for the secret motives of his resignation in 1692, and his subsequent transactions. Marlborough was to be questioned, on the causes of his dismissal, and the events which ensued. Admiral Russel was to be required to declare, whether he had not seen David Lloyd, an agent of James, both in London and at Cadiz, and what had passed between them. Other hints were suggested, which it is needless to recapitulate. It appeared, also, that, on the refusal of Fenwick to frame his defence, according to these directions, Monmouth did not scruple to speak and vote for the bill of attainder. This conduct induced the friends of Fenwick to make the disclosure.*

Monmouth was immediately dismissed from all his places, and sent to the Tower. He was, however, screened from farther humiliation, by the interest of the king, through the agency of bishop Burnet. It is also surmised, that he was secretly remunerated by the government for the loss he incurred in consequence of his dismissal. Whether this indulgence was owing to the service he had rendered at the Revolution, or to the dread which was entertained of his enterprising spirit, must be left among those mysterious questions, which cannot be solved.†

Fenwick was executed, in virtue of the bill of attainder. On

* Secretary Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Dec. 24, 1696,

† From the correspondence of Vernon with Shrewsbury, Nov. 30, 1696, it appears that some intimation was given of these insidious instructions early in November. The fact was mentioned to Marlborough, who instantly designated Monmouth as the author, adding, they could be framed only by "the worst of men." Yet it is remarkable that this eccentric peer afterwards conciliated the confidence of Marlborough and his lady; and was regarded by both with an unusual degree of favour; and finally that he again betrayed their confidence, and became the most bitter and persevering enemy of Marlborough.

the scaffold he presented a paper, avowing the principles for which he suffered, repeating all his former accusations, and declaring that he drew the information he had given to the duke of Devonshire, from letters and messages which had been transmitted to France.* He stated also, that, on repeating this information, the duke had assured him the king was acquainted with the facts long before.†

On reviewing the circumstances of this mysterious transaction, we find nothing more specific charged on Marlborough, than was charged on Shrewsbury and Russel; and that even these charges were not avowed by their accuser, when he was solemnly required to substantiate and confirm his assertions. We find, also, on comparing Fenwick's statements with the Stuart Papers, published by Macpherson, and the Life of James the Second, edited by Clarke, that Marlborough was fully justified in his declaration, that he had held no communication whatever with Fenwick after the commencement of the war. It is, however, remarkable, that not only the accusations of Fenwick, but also the suggestions of lord Monmouth, were grounded on the information which was conveyed to the court of St. Germain, by the

* Confession of Sir John Fenwick, published in Tindal, &c.

For this account we have consulted the manuscript correspondence of lords Somers and Wharton, and secretary Vernon with the duke of Shrewsbury, in October, November, and December, 1696. The Journals of both Houses of Parliament—Chandler's Debates—Burnet—Ralph—Tindal—and Oldmixon, who appears to have possessed the most minute and accurate information on this subject. Also the History of Europe, vol. 5.

† The biographer of James the Second corroborates the remark of the duke of Devonshire, that king William was acquainted with the correspondence carried on with the Stuart agents.

“The prince of Orange looking never the worse upon my *lord Godolphin** and *admiral Russel*, was an argument he had been no stranger to their practices, but it was a check, however, upon others, who perhaps meant better; of which number, whether my *lord Churchill* was to be counted or no, is still a mystery, and the veil is like to remain upon it.” Vol. 1, p. 558.

This is another proof of Macpherson's infidelity, as he has suppressed this clause in his extracts relative to the same transaction, p. 257.

* The words in Italics inserted afterwards.

Stuart agents and spies. We may therefore conclude, that the substance was furnished by the loquacity of these agents; that in the moment of alarm these hints were thrown out by the criminal, with a view to avert or suspend his fate, by operating on the fears of those who had reason to dread farther disclosures; and that when put to the test, he was either unable to substantiate them, for want of evidence, or was unwilling to injure the cause for which he suffered, by revealing the sources of his information.

We have no document to prove the feelings of Marlborough during this investigation, except a single letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, in which he appears to regard it as rather affecting that nobleman than himself.

“ Wednesday night.

“ Although I have not troubled your grace with my letters, I have not been wanting in inquiring constantly how you did. I did, about a fortnight ago, write a letter, to acquaint you with what I had observed of some people, in hopes Mr. Arden would have called upon me, as he promised; but I did not care to send it by the post, and so it was burnt. We had yesterday sir John Fenwick at the house, and I think it all went as you could wish. I do not send you the particulars, knowing you must have it more exactly from others; but I should be wanting, if I did not let you know that lord Rochester has behaved himself on all this occasion like a friend. In a conversation he had with me, he expressed himself as a real servant of yours; and I think it would not be amiss if you took notice of it to him. If you think me capable of any commands, I shall endeavour to approve myself, what I am with much truth, &c.”*

Notwithstanding the strength of the prejudices which the king fostered against Marlborough, he had been frequently heard to express his concern that he could not employ a nobleman who was equally distinguished for political and military talents, and who appeared never to discover a difficulty, while other generals seemed to find every thing proposed to them impracti-

* Shrewsbury Papers.

cable.* At length the merit of Marlborough, and the necessities of the times, outweighed all objections.

William seems to have discovered that the extensive correspondence which in the preceding period of his reign had been maintained with the exiled family, arose, in most instances, rather from fear, selfishness, or gratitude, than from disaffection; and that in proportion as his throne became more stable, his subjects appeared less hesitating in their allegiance. Hence at different times, he employed many of those whom he knew to have been implicated in such an intercourse, and found no cause to repent of his confidence. It was probably from the same motive that he at length consigned to Marlborough an employment of the highest trust.

As it was now deemed proper to form a separate establishment for the young duke of Gloucester, presumptive heir to the crown, the princess his mother was anxious that the charge of his person should be confided to a nobleman so high in her esteem, and so accomplished, as the earl of Marlborough. Her inclinations were perfectly in unison with the public voice. But the king was at first averse to the appointment, and at one time purposed to fill the offices in the new establishment, without consulting her wishes. With a view of excluding Marlborough, he offered the post of governor to the duke of Shrewsbury, who, from ill health, was then soliciting permission to relinquish the fatiguing office of secretary of state. The duke declining the appointment, William remained in suspense, from dislike of Marlborough, and the difficulty of selecting a person who, with equal merit, was less obnoxious. At length his repugnance was overcome by the representations of lord Sunderland, the suggestions of the new favourite, lord Albemarle, who had recently supplanted Portland, the recommendation of the tories, who were rising in influence, and the dread of being obliged to consign the prince to a nobleman of so froward a temper as lord Rochester, whose cause was espoused by the violent members of his party.† Having taken

* Duchess of Marlborough's Narrative. Green Book.

† Secretary Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury.

his resolution, he conferred the office on Marlborough in the most gracious manner; and delivered the young prince into his care, with a compliment of unusual warmth: "Teach him," he said, "to be like yourself, and he will not want accomplishments."

The coadjutor of Marlborough in the office of preceptor was the celebrated Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, whose learning, frankness, and integrity entitled him to the confidence of the king. The governor and preceptor indeed differed widely in political principles, for the bishop was distinguished by his attachment to the whig cause; but this diversity of sentiment created no discordance in the fulfilment of their important duties. Their esteem and respect were mutual, and their public connection became the foundation of a friendship, which lasted through life.

After making so great a sacrifice in the choice of a governor, William became less scrupulous in inferior regulations. Except the nomination of Burnet, as the preceptor, against the wish of the princess, who disliked his political principles, the king seems to have left to her, or rather to Marlborough, the selection of the different attendants, who were placed about the person of his nephew.

The very evening of his appointment, Marlborough was restored to his place in the privy council, and to his military rank and employments. In the course of the two succeeding years he was also named one of the lords justices, who were intrusted with the government during the absence of the king.

The appointment of bishop Burnet gave great offence to the violent tories, and they were little more satisfied with that of Marlborough, in whose post they were anxious to place the earl of Rochester, uncle of the young prince. Accordingly a motion was made in parliament, for an address to remove bishop Burnet, in consequence of the censure passed by the house of commons on his Country and Pastoral Letter, which had been ordered to be burnt by the common executioner. This invidious attack was, however, repelled by a great majority. Marlborough supported his colleague with all his interest, having even prevailed on his brother, George Churchill, who was a zealous tory, to absent

himself from the house on the day the motion was decided. Considering the known bias of the princess, and the diversity of their political sentiments, this conduct reflects honour on his candour and impartiality.

Trained up under a governor so accomplished, and under so learned and skilful a preceptor, the young prince rapidly improved in personal and mental acquirements; and gave the most promising indications of virtues and qualities, which were likely to adorn a crown. But, like the Marcellus of Rome, he was shewn to an anxious country, only to be admired and regretted. In the dawn of youth, amidst the vows and prayers of his destined subjects, he was hurried to a premature grave.

Lord and lady Marlborough were at Althorpe when he was first seized; but the progress of the fatal disorder was so rapid, that the afflicted governor arrived at Windsor only in time to receive the dying breath of his royal charge, who expired on the 30th of July, 1700, aged eleven years and five days.

Marlborough announced this melancholy event to the king; and the answer, though brief, does honour to the feelings of the monarch:

“ *Loo, 4th Oct. 1700.*

“ I do not think it necessary to employ many words in expressing my surprise and grief at the death of the duke of Gloucester. It is so great a loss to me, as well as to all England, that it pierces my heart with affliction.”*

* Translation from the original in the Marlborough Papers.

CHAPTER 7.

1698—1700.

Marriages of Marlborough's two daughters, Ladies Henrietta and Anne, to Mr. Godolphin and lord Spencer—Characters of his friends, lords Godolphin and Sunderland—Correspondence on this subject.

AT this period the family of Marlborough consisted of one son, John Marquis of Blandford, his second son Charles having died an infant; and four daughters, Henrietta, Anne, Elizabeth, and Mary. The two eldest daughters, Henrietta and Anne, were now marriageable; and their beauty and accomplishments attracted many admirers of rank and fortune. But in the choice of an alliance, neither the earl nor countess laid the slightest restraint on the inclinations of their children; and preferred to every other advantage, the ties of friendship, and the characters of the individuals to whom they confided their beloved pledges.

From an early period of the reign of Charles the second, an intimate connection had subsisted between Marlborough and Godolphin, which took its rise from their intercourse in public employments, and was afterwards cemented by a similarity in political principles, both being tories and high churchmen, but without the rancour and prejudice which marked the distinctions of party. Their union was rendered more cordial by the diversity of their talents and pursuits: Marlborough being attached to the profession of arms, and Godolphin to finance, of which he was a perfect master. In the revolution, which was the test of so many public and private connections, Godolphin acted a less prominent part than his noble friend. He did not forsake the interest of James, till the misguided monarch became wanting to himself; and he

made a vigorous opposition to the breach of the hereditary succession, occasioned by the elevation of William to the throne. Still, however, he was continued in the commission of the treasury by the new monarch, who entertained a high opinion of his abilities and integrity. He held his situation at the head of the board, from 1690 to 1696; and resigned, as we have already observed, in consequence of the accusations of sir John Fenwick. He remained out of office during the administration in which the whigs were predominant.

No public change produced the slightest diminution in the cordial friendship which had long subsisted between the two statesmen; and amidst the various revolutions of fortune, and trying incidents which afterwards befel them, their intercourse was invariably marked with the same esteem and confidence. Their connection was consolidated by the respectful attachment of Godolphin to the countess of Marlborough; of whose character and talents he appears to have entertained the highest admiration, and to whose opinions, and even caprice, he paid unlimited deference.

The intercourse of the parents produced an intimacy between their children; and all parties witnessed with singular pleasure a growing attachment between Francis the only son of lord Godolphin, and lady Henrietta Churchill. Meeting with the full approbation of the parents, it soon terminated in a matrimonial union, which took place in 1698, when the young lady had attained her eighteenth year. The princess Anne interested herself warmly in the match, and offered in the most delicate terms to endow the bride with a marriage portion of £.10,000.

The countess of Marlborough would not however accept more than £.5,000, though the establishment of the young couple was ill adapted to their rank; for Godolphin in the management of the finances had added to the wealth of his country without increasing his own; and the fortune of Marlborough was not yet sufficiently ample to furnish a liberal portion to each of his four daughters. He added, however, £.5,000 to the generous gift of the princess.

Of all the children of Marlborough, lady Anne, the second daughter, was perhaps the most endeared to him and his countess, by personal and mental accomplishments, as well as by uncommon sweetness of disposition, and a maturity of judgment above her years.* For the establishment of this darling child, the anxious parents felt peculiar solicitude; and in the choice of an alliance they were guided by the same sentiments of private friendship which they had consulted in the marriage of her sister.

Among the most intimate of Marlborough's early friends was Robert Earl of Sunderland, who bore so important, but so mysterious a part in the revolution. It would be foreign to the present

* The beauty and accomplishments of lady Anne Churchill received great homage from the gallants and wits of the time. Among the number of her eulogists was lord Godolphin, who, as Swift sneeringly observes, "could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of a fair lady with a pencil and card." In the Blenheim papers is the fable of the lion in love, translated from La Fontaine, with an address to lady Anne, in the hand-writing of the Treasurer. For the rarity of the production this address is here inserted as a species of trifling not usual in a grave minister of finance.

"YOU that with charms and graces shine

"Above the brightness of the day,

"Born with perfections most divine,

"Were your indifference away.

"This small amusement without fear

"May please your goodness to approve,

"And in a harmless fable hear

"Of a fierce lion tamed by love."

Lady Anne received also a poetical tribute from lord Halifax, the Mæcenas of the day.

"Vandyke had colours, softness, fire, and art

"When the fair Sunderland inflamed his heart;

"Waller had numbers, fancy, wit, and fire,

"And Sacharissa was his fond desire.

"Why then at Althorp seem her charms to faint

"In these sweet numbers, and that glowing paint?

"This happy seat a fairer mistress warms:

"The shining offspring has eclipsed her charms.

"The different beauties in one face we find;

"Soft Amoret with brightest Sacharissa join'd,

"As high as Nature reach'd, their art could soar,

"But she ne'er made a finish'd piece before."

State Poems, vol. 3, p. 396.—Johnson's Poets, vol. 26, p. 305.

purpose to scrutinise the actions of Sunderland, or to vindicate his political character, from the accusations with which it has been loaded. It is sufficient to state, that he has encountered deeper obloquy than he deserved; and that the charge urged against him of instigating king James to violent measures, in order to accelerate his ruin, is totally without foundation. In fact, the moderation of his principles was one of the qualities which most strongly recommended him to the friendship of Marlborough. They were both of the party which was attached to the interest of the queen, in opposition to Hugh Peters, the king's favourite jesuit,* and they both hoped that means might be devised to restrain the imprudence of James; or in case of his death, that what they deemed a constitutional government, might be established under the regency of the queen.

After the revolution, the good offices of Marlborough were effectually exerted in favour of Sunderland, then in exile and distress. He not only obtained his restoration to his country, but strongly recommended him to the friendship of the new king. Sunderland on his part was not unmindful of the obligation; and when Marlborough was involved in disgrace, repaid his kindness by soothing the resentment of William, and promoting his appointment as governor to the young duke of Gloucester.

Besides the intimacy which subsisted between the two noblemen, an attachment of the most romantic kind arose between the countesses of Marlborough and Sunderland. Their letters breathe the same warmth of affection as those between the princess Anne and lady Marlborough; and we find the princess herself tenderly expressing her jealousy at the attentions which lady Sunderland received from her favourite.† Besides the regard arising from this attachment, the privileges of a god-daughter gave the young lady an additional title to the affection of a friend so intimately connected with her mother.

* Reresby's Memoirs, p. 223.

† "I cannot help envying lady Sunderland to-day, that she should have the satisfaction of seeing you before me; for I am sure she cannot love you half so well as I do, though I know she has the art of saying a great deal."

Lord Spencer, the only son of lord and lady Sunderland, having recently lost his wife, lady Arabella Cavendish, daughter of the duke of Newcastle, his anxious parents within a few months proposed to unite him with lady Anne Churchill, first through the agency of lord Godolphin, and his sister Mrs. Boscawen, and subsequently by a direct application. In one of the letters written during this negotiation, lord Sunderland artfully observes: "If I see him so settled, I shall desire nothing more in this world but to die in peace, if it please God. I must add this, that if he can be thus happy, he will be governed in every thing public and private by lord Marlborough. I have particularly talked to him of that, and he is sensible how advantageous it will be to him to be so. I need not, I am sure, desire that all this may be a secret to every body but lady Marlborough."*

The proposal was not however received with equal warmth by the parents of the young lady. Lord Spencer in person was highly favoured by nature, and no less liberally gifted with intellectual endowments, which he had improved by assiduous study. He was remarkable for a sedateness above his years; but in him a bold and impetuous spirit was concealed under a cold and reserved exterior. Imbued with that ardent love of liberty, which the youthful mind generally draws from the writers of Greece and Rome, and educated amidst the effervescence which produced the revolution, he was a zealous champion of the whig doctrines, in their most enlarged sense. Associating with the remnant of republicans who had survived the common-wealth, he caught their spirit. He was an animated speaker; and in the warmth of debate, disdained to spare the prejudices or failings even of those with whom he was most intimately connected. His political idol was lord Somers, though he wanted both the prudence and temper of so distinguished a leader.

The deportment of the young nobleman in private life, was ill calculated to win the esteem of those who could not regard with indulgence the defects of his public character. Abhorring the

* Lord Sunderland to Mrs. Boscawen, Dec. 31. Marlborough Papers.

very shadow of adulation, he carried his freedom of speech to a degree of bluntness which was often offensive. At this period the loss of a beloved wife threw a gloom over his mind; and gave the appearance of additional harshness to his manners and temper.

A man of so unaccommodating a disposition was not likely to conciliate the favour of the countess of Marlborough, who was accustomed to adulation, and fond of flattery. As little did his political principles accord with those of her lord, who was averse to party violence, and particularly hostile to those republican notions, which were fashionable among the ardent whigs of the day. We are not therefore surprised to find the parents of the young lady receiving the proposal of a match with coldness, and starting numerous objections, notwithstanding the friendship which subsisted between the two families. Lord and lady Sunderland, however, persisted in their solicitations, and extenuated the failings of their son with all the partiality of parental affection.

By degrees these instances produced an impression. Lady Marlborough being less hostile to whig principles than her husband, overlooked the political violence of her future son in law; but her maternal feelings suggested another difficulty. Judging from the natural reserve of lord Spencer, and the additional gloom with which he was now depressed, she deemed him averse to a new marriage, and withheld her approbation, from a fear lest her beloved child should be made the sacrifice of a match without affection.

At length the charms and accomplishments of lady Anne dissipated the grief of the young widower; and he felt the passion which her youth, beauty, and merit, could not fail to inspire. The impression sunk deep in a reserved but ardent mind; and he testified no less anxiety for the alliance than his parents. The intelligence of this conquest was exultingly communicated by his mother to lady Marlborough, and accompanied with the most pressing intreaties to hasten an union, which she hoped would equally ensure the felicity of both parties.

By the zealous interposition of lady Marlborough, the objections of her husband were gradually removed. But he did not

give his consent without strong forebodings that his intended son in law would not long maintain the promised change in his political habits and principles; and his fears were fully realised; for it soon appeared that the father had overrated his son's docility, when he engaged that he should "be guided in every thing public and private by the earl of Marlborough."

At length this negotiation, which had lasted a year and a half, was brought to a happy conclusion; and the ceremony took place at St. Alban's, in January 1700-1. The princess of Denmark gave the same sum to lady Anne as she had already bestowed on her sister, and the father equalised their portions, by adding another £.5,000.*

* Correspondence between the families of Marlborough and Sunderland, M. P.—Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough.

CHAPTER 8.

1698—1701.

Debates on the army and navy—On the payment of a debt due to prince George of Denmark—Resumption of the Irish Grants—Dismission of the whigs, and formation of a tory ministry—Meeting of the new parliament—Ascendancy of the tories—Choice of Harley as speaker—His character and principles—Treaties for the partition of the spanish monarchy—Death of Charles the second king of Spain, and transfer of the crown to Philip duke of Anjou—Entail of the british crown on the House of Hanover—Appeal of the king to parliament, against the usurpation of the spanish monarchy by France—Is compelled to acknowledge Philip—Impeachment of the whig ministers, for concluding the treaty of partition—Clamours of the nation against the parliament—Liberal vote of supply—Prorogation—Marlborough appointed commander in chief in the Netherlands, and plenipotentiary—Dissatisfaction of the king with the tories—Marlborough attends him abroad.

AFTER his restoration to favour, Marlborough had a difficult part to act. A series of parliamentary questions arose, in the highest degree delicate, which left him no alternative but to desert his party, or offend the king.

These questions principally related to the reduction of the army and navy, after the peace of Ryswic; the dismissal of the dutch guards; the liquidation of a debt, contracted with the prince of Denmark; and the resumption of the forfeited lands in Ireland, which William had profusely distributed among his favourites.

With regard to the celebrated discussion relative to the reduction of the army and navy, we cannot ascertain in what degree Marlborough abetted the views of his party. Indeed there is reason to infer, that as he considered the peace of Ryswic in the light of a mere temporary accommodation, he must have approved the wish of the king to maintain the country in a respectable state

of defence, at a time when the french monarch was augmenting, instead of reducing, both his military and naval establishment.

We are convinced also that he disapproved the personal insult offered to William, by the compulsory dismissal of his dutch guards: for he was one of the few confidential persons to whom the king, in the anguish of his heart, imparted the design of renouncing a throne, which had exposed him to accumulated mortifications; and of withdrawing from a country, where his patriotic designs were thwarted by party violence.*

The question in which Marlborough was particularly interested, was that on the liquidation of the debt due to the prince of Denmark.†

For the purpose of accelerating an accommodation between Sweden and Denmark, during the late war, the king had persuaded prince George to surrender the Isle of Yammeren, and the bailiwicks of Transbottel and Steinholt, on which he held a mortgage amounting to £.85,000 sterling, to the duke of Holstein. In return, the king charged himself with the mortgage, and till it was liquidated, engaged to pay the interest of six per cent. The prince being anxious for the repayment of the money, the king, in compliance with his repeated solicitations, at length imparted the matter to parliament, in his speech of November 1699, when he recommended the discharge of the public debt. It was accordingly taken into consideration, and made the theme for reflections in the highest degree offensive to the king. In January 1700, a supply was voted for the purpose; but clogged with the condition that the money should be vested in the purchase of lands, which were to be settled on the prince and princess, and their issue, in conformity with their marriage contract. Other objections were afterwards advanced; but the money was finally repaid, because the most violent of the opposition were desirous to gratify the prince at the expence of the king. The zeal which Marlborough and his lady had manifested in the promotion of

* Letters from lord Somers and Vernon in the Shrewsbury Collection, December 1699; and Hardwicke Papers, vol. 2, p. 362—Also Dalrymple, Part 3, book 7, p. 180, and Somerville's William, p. 517,

this object, was gratefully acknowledged by the princess, in a letter of thanks, written in the warmest style of regard, and ascribing the success of the measure solely to their interference.*

Although Marlborough had not entered into the factious discussions which arose from this question, the king was too jealous of the slightest interference in behalf of the prince, to regard his conduct without dissatisfaction. The impression was however only transient; for Vernon, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, written in the same month, observes, "I think the cloud which has been hanging over my lord Marlborough is clearing up."†

Except the dismissal of the dutch guards, no parliamentary interference more deeply affected William, than the resumption of the Irish grants. It created an almost unprecedented degree of ferment both in the parliament and nation. After long and acrimonious debates, a bill passed the commons for resuming these grants, and appropriating the money arising from the sale of the property, to the payment of the army. The execution of the act was intrusted to thirteen commissioners, who were armed with almost inquisitorial powers; and to extort the assent of the peers, it was tacked to the land tax bill, as one of the sources of revenue.

To prevent it from passing, the king's friends in the house of peers, proposed various amendments, which, as it was identified with a money bill, would naturally be rejected by the commons. This expedient was, however, highly resented by the lower house. The most violent resolutions were proposed, reflecting on the king and his foreign adherents; and every artifice was employed to excite the public alarm and indignation. Motions were even prepared for the banishment of the earls of Portland and Albemarle, as well as of all other foreigners, in offices of honour or trust, except the prince of Denmark. Several conferences between the two

* Conduct, p. 287. The account of this transaction is given from MSS. in the Marlborough Papers. It is also mentioned in Ralph and Tindal—Journals—Chandler's Commons Debates, vol. 3, p. 106—Ralph, p. 813.

† Vernon to the duke of Shrewsbury, January 1700.

houses only served to widen the breach, and to provoke new animosity. At the instances of his friends and adherents, the king himself prevailed on the lords to recede from their amendments; but he was finally compelled to give a hasty assent to the bill, and prorogue the parliament, in order to avoid the mortification of receiving an address from the commons, which had passed by acclamation, requiring the removal of all foreigners from the privy council.

Marlborough strongly disapproved the Irish grants, and therefore opposed the amendments; but observing that the violence of his own party threatened the very existence of the government, he retired from the house, that he might not be obliged to vote when the question was put, for adopting the bill without alteration.* Notwithstanding this consistent and honourable conduct, he experienced the usual fate of such as attempt to steer between opposite extremes. The feelings of the king were too much wounded to regard with indulgence any one who had favoured the obnoxious bill; while the victorious party stigmatised all who had not fully entered into their measures, as enemies to the country. Accordingly we find Marlborough complaining of his unpleasant situation, in a letter written soon afterwards to his friend the duke of Shrewsbury:

“ May 11, 1700.

“ The king’s coldness to me still continues; so that I should have been glad to have had your friendly advice; for to have friends and acquaintance unreasonably jealous, and the king at the same time angry, is what I know not how to bear, nor do I know how to behave myself.”†

The displeasure of the king was, however, speedily dissipated; and he appears to have rendered justice to the consistency of

* Secretary Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, April 10, 1700. This letter contains the only distinct and satisfactory account of the proceedings in the house of lords, when the bill passed. From the journals it appears that Marlborough attended at the opening of the debate; but it is from Vernon’s letter that we find he retired before the question was put.

† Shrewsbury Papers.

Marlborough, who had checked the violence of his party, without deserting his principles. William shewed him new proofs of cordiality, by consulting him on the change which he meditated in the administration, and by employing him as the agent of a confidential communication with lord Sunderland, on the actual state of affairs ; and he was selected as one of the lords justices, to conduct the government during the king's absence abroad. In fact, Marlborough took so active a share in political transactions, that he incurred the jealousy of the whigs ; for in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury we find him complaining of the ill humour manifested by the lord chancellor Somers, and attempting to justify himself against the peevish imputation of lord Orford, that he was absolutely governed by lord Sunderland.*

Amidst the mortifications which William had undergone in the preceding session, it is no wonder that he adopted the resolution of dismissing the whigs, who were either unable, or unwilling, to support his government. This determination he began to carry into effect before his departure for the continent, and completed it on his return.

Indeed a political dissolution had gradually taken place in the whig part of the ministry. Since the affair of sir John Fenwick, the duke of Shrewsbury had not only withdrawn from active business, but had so repeatedly solicited permission to resign, that William at length granted his request. For a short time he was persuaded to hold the post of lord chamberlain ; but he soon relinquished his office, and went abroad, under the plea of ill health. The place of secretary of state, vacant by his resignation, was transferred to the earl of Jersey. The whigs successively withdrew from their situations. Orford retired in disgust in June, 1699 ; and Montagu quitted the treasury in November, with the promise of being called to the peerage. Somers was indignant at the timidity of his colleagues, and persisted in retaining the seals, till he received his formal dismissal in May, 1700.

During these transactions the king had entered into a secret

* Earl of Marlborough to the Duke of Shrewsbury, June 3, 1699. Shrewsbury Papers.

negotiation with lord Rochester, for the appointment of a tory cabinet. Rochester was to be considered as the principal minister, with the lucrative and honourable post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, though without the obligation of a continued residence. Sir Nathan Wright received the seals, as lord keeper; lord Jersey was removed to the office of lord chamberlain, in the room of Shrewsbury; and, still more to gratify the tories, the vacant secretaryship was given to Sir Charles Hedges.

The treasury was offered to lord Godolphin; and, on his refusal, at the instigation of Marlborough, who recommended him for the less invidious office of privy seal,* it was conferred on lord Tankerville. By the persuasion of the king, he was, however, soon afterwards induced to accept the treasury; and lord Tankerville was nominated privy seal. Of the few persons in office, who were not identified with the tory party, was Mr. Smith, chancellor of the exchequer, whose political heresy was overlooked in favour of his talents and integrity; and Vernon, secretary of state, who was personally acceptable to the king, and was too moderate and circumspect, to excite the jealousy of either party.

Having thus re-modelled the ministry, the king summoned a new parliament. The struggle in the elections was extremely violent; but the death of the duke of Gloucester, and the perfidious conduct of the french king, in usurping the spanish monarchy, created such an alarm in the nation, that the number of jacobite members was much diminished, and the preponderance thrown on the side of the tories.

The parliament assembled on the 17th of February; and the relative strength of parties appeared in the nomination of the speaker. The whigs wished to re-elect sir Thomas Littleton; but the king persuaded him to decline the contest, and the tory candidate, Mr. Harley, was chosen by a large majority, in opposition to sir Richard Onslow.

As the new speaker was the intimate friend of Marlborough,

* Vernon's Correspondence with the duke of Shrewsbury, in 1700—Shrewsbury Papers.

and as he afterwards bore so conspicuous a part in public affairs, we shall here introduce a few remarks on his character, connections, and principles.

Robert Harley had imbibed from his father the whig doctrines ; and as he had been brought up in the principles of the low church, he was even suspected of a tendency to puritanism. At all events, his family adhered to the presbyterian form of worship, and he himself appears to have maintained an intimate connection with the dissenters. Being a decided enemy to popery, he took so prominent a part in the Revolution, that he was selected by the gentry of Worcestershire to convey a tender of their services to the prince of Orange. He was brought into parliament after the accession of king William, and speedily became an active and useful member. He not only distinguished himself by his skill in finance, but in 1694 he was chosen to prepare the act, which formed the ground-work of the celebrated triennial bill.

About this time he changed his political tenets, and ranged himself with the tories, though his principles were always regarded as moderate, and he maintained his connection with many of different sentiments. His talents for business, conciliating manners, and dexterity in debate, gave him at an early period considerable influence in the house of commons. A distant relationship with the countess of Marlborough first introduced him to the notice of her husband. A conformity in political sentiments gave rise to a more intimate acquaintance, which was gradually matured into the highest degree of cordiality and friendship. From the interest which Marlborough afterwards took in the advancement of Harley, there is little doubt that he zealously promoted his views, and gave essential aid in his elevation to the speaker's chair.

We now revert to the change in domestic policy, which was connected with the appointment of Harley to so important a station. In transferring the powers of government to the tories, the king appears to have widely miscalculated the strength of party prejudice. Relying, however, on the support of his new ministry, he had employed the interval since the dissolution, in

arranging measures calculated to secure domestic tranquillity, and to maintain the independence of Europe against the usurpations of Louis the fourteenth.

The declining health of Charles the second, king of Spain, and the prospect of a contest for the succession to the spanish crown, had long occupied his serious attention. He therefore concluded with Louis the first Partition Treaty, for the eventual division of the spanish monarchy, by which he hoped to accommodate the jarring pretensions of the different claimants, and prevent the french monarch from grasping the whole. This arrangement being frustrated by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, to whom Spain and the Indies had been assigned, he entered into a new engagement, which is called the second Partition Treaty. Spain, the Indies, and the Low Countries were to descend to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor Leopold, who deduced his pretensions from Margaret, younger daughter of Philip the fourth. To meet the claims which Louis still advanced, notwithstanding the most solemn renunciation, the two Sicilies, with other provinces, depending on an eventual convention, were to be transferred to the dauphin, in right of his mother, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip. This Treaty, however, satisfied neither party, and the momentous question was yet involved in doubt and hazard.*

The death of Charles, which happened on the first of November, 1700, proved the futility of all attempts to settle a question, which could be decided only by arms. The king of France having gained a strong party in the court of Madrid, induced the dying monarch to nominate as his universal heir, Philip, duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. Despising the restraints of treaties and renunciations, he instantly accepted the bequest, in the name of his grandson, and the young prince was tranquilly acknowledged by the whole nation, under the title of Philip the fifth.

William had no other alternative than an appeal to his parliament, for aid to obviate the mischiefs which were justly appre-

* Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon—Introduction.

hended from this enormous addition to the power of the french monarchy. His next object was, to complete the arrangements for the succession to the british crown ; as, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the continuance of a protestant government depended on the single life of the princess Anne.

But many among the tories who had strenuously opposed the breach of hereditary succession at the Revolution, were alarmed at the recurrence of circumstances, which rendered a similar expedient unavoidable ; and, unfortunately for the views of the monarch, this party was now intrusted with the powers of government. The whigs, who were interested to consolidate the protestant establishment, were divided among themselves, dissatisfied with the king, and without that confidence and energy which they had manifested at the Revolution. Another series of embarrassments arose from the sentiments and prejudices of the princess Anne. At the Revolution she had been induced to desert her father, by zeal for her religion, by popular enthusiasm, and by the persuasion that the pretended prince of Wales was a supposititious child. But pique against William, and perhaps the secret remonstrances of her parents, produced a change in her feelings towards her unfortunate family ; and, since the death of her son, she had regarded with more scruple the proofs of her brother's illegitimacy. Still, however, the brilliant prospect of a crown was not without attractions ; and she was not inclined to forego the preference given to her by the act of settlement, though she was far from being averse to the eventual restoration of the Stuart line.

These feelings operating on a weak and sensitive mind, we find her continually fluctuating between her wishes and her fears ; her duty to her parents, and her own interest ; her regard for her family ; and her zeal for the protestant religion. So far, indeed, had she been influenced by these considerations, that she communicated to her father the intelligence of her son's death ; and when the declining health of William opened a nearer prospect of her succession, she privately solicited his sanction for her acceptance of the crown. She even declared her readiness to make a restitu-

tion, whenever an opportunity should occur.* The peremptory prohibition of James contributed still farther to increase her perplexity and agitate her feelings; and she contemplated with repugnance the entail of the crown on a collateral branch, even though it gave additional security to her own succession.

Aware of all these obstacles, William pursued his design with his customary policy and perseverance. He affected to take a deep interest in the character and conduct of the young pretender; and permitted his own agents to circulate rumours of a design to introduce him in the succession next to himself. He gave countenance, at the same time, to similar reports, respecting the house of Hanover. He even instigated, or suffered his friends to move, a petition in parliament, soliciting that he would tranquillize the apprehensions of the country, by engaging in a second marriage, which might afford the prospect of issue.†

Amidst the alarm and agitation into which Anne was thrown by these jarring rumours, she naturally recurred to the advice of Marlborough and his countess; and we cannot doubt that they dissuaded her from any opposition, which might have proved fatal to her own claims, without benefiting her family.

The affair being thus matured, the king called the attention of parliament to the entail of the crown on the protestant line, and to the danger arising from the accession of a Bourbon prince to the spanish throne. After such a contest as was naturally to be expected from the discordant views and hopes of different parties, a bill was passed, entailing the british crown on the House of Hanover, with a series of limitations, some of which, though just in themselves, were yet introduced as much for the immediate purpose of mortifying the king, as from a fear of the mischiefs which might eventually arise from the influence of foreigners. With respect to the spanish monarchy, the tories were as little tractable as on other occasions. The house of commons presented

* Macpherson's History, vol. 2, p. 130—Life of James by Clarke, vol. 2, p. 559.

† Cunningham, vol. 1, p. 185—Somerville's William, p. 545.

to the king a cold and discouraging address, merely announcing their willingness to support him in fulfilling the treaty of 1667 with the dutch, by which England was limited to a succour of 10,000 men and twenty ships of war. The ministry, however, compelled him to acknowledge Philip, in order to prevent a specific application for that purpose, which was threatened by some of the violent leaders in the house of commons. Amidst these contradictions and discouragements, William had only the faint consolation of receiving a more spirited address from the peers.

On this occasion we cannot trace the conduct of Marlborough; though it is scarcely possible to suppose that he approved the impolitic prejudices of his party; convinced as he was of the danger to which the civilised world was exposed from the preponderance of France. We are, however, concerned to find him soon afterwards yielding to the baneful spirit of party, and concurring in the efforts of the tories to throw odium on the king and ex-ministers, for their conduct in negotiating the last Treaty of Partition.

After the death of the king of Spain, this unfortunate treaty became public, and excited a general ferment of discontent. An impeachment was instituted by the tory leaders, against Portland, Orford, Halifax and Somers, as advisers of so dishonourable an engagement; though, with a shameful partiality, no complaint was adduced against lord Jersey, by whom it was arranged, in the quality of ambassador, or against Vernon, through whose hands it had passed as secretary of state; nor did the accusers turn their view to the conduct of the preceding parliament, which by an impolitic economy had reduced the king to submit to so humiliating a treaty.

In this crisis, the peers proved themselves the champions of the constitution, and the friends of justice, by acquitting the persecuted ex-ministers in the most solemn and satisfactory manner. This verdict raised the indignation of the tories in the commons. They were seconded by their friends in the upper house; and we regret to find the name of Marlborough in the protests, some of which were so violent, as to be expunged from the journals. It is

difficult to assign a motive for a conduct so contrary to his usual moderation, and to his friendship for some of the persecuted lords.

The unjustifiable and flagrant proceedings of the commons, awakened the resentment of the nation. Petitions of the most threatening nature were voted against them, in different parts of the kingdom: they were accused of corruption by french gold, and assailed in various publications, which daily issued from the press. At length the tories discovered that they had carried their hostilities beyond the bounds of prudence. They shrunk from the imputation of connivance at the usurpations of France, and heard with shame, and mortification, the urgent appeals for succour, which were made by the emperor and the dutch. To compensate for their past misconduct, or at least to gain popularity, they closed this stormy session by voting liberal supplies to the king, against the contingencies which might occur; and conveyed the most solemn assurances of support, in all such alliances as he should think proper to conclude, for maintaining the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. To these laudable resolutions Marlborough contributed with all his influence.

On the 24th of June William prorogued the parliament, and prepared for his journey to the continent. Before his departure he was importuned by the tories to dismiss the small remnant of whigs who yet were permitted to fill subordinate offices in the government; but he eluded the demand, and left the administration as it was then constituted.

Although the king had shewn great attention to Marlborough, and invariably testified the estimation in which he held his talents and services; yet he never entirely conquered his early prejudices, or divested himself of that jealousy which sovereigns usually feel, against the adherents of those who are destined to succeed them. At this period, however, he overlooked all inferior considerations, and placed Marlborough in a post of the highest consequence, next to his own person. His motives for this choice were laudably disinterested and patriotic.

Sensible of his own approaching dissolution, foreseeing the inevitable necessity of a continental war, and anxious for the maintenance of that system, which it had been the labour and boast of his life to uphold, he was desirous that the political and military powers should be transferred to one, who, with abilities equal to the emergency, might possess the confidence of the country, and the good will of his successor. In no one were these requisites united except in Marlborough. Accordingly William selected him to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the treaties, which were to be formed with foreign powers, for the renewal of the grand alliance. This choice, as judicious in itself as it was honourable to his feelings, was almost his last act before he quitted England, to organize the most formidable confederacy, which had yet been marshaled against France.

Marlborough accompanied the king abroad, and saw with regret his rising displeasure against the tories, though it was the natural consequence of their hostility towards his person, and factious opposition to his measures. He hoped, however, that the party with which he had identified himself, had made reparation by their zeal in voting the supplies. He trusted, also, that the absence of the king from England would allow the feelings of resentment and mortification to subside. A change which had taken place among the dutch adherents of William, inspired him with additional confidence. The earl of Portland, his own personal enemy, who had been chiefly exposed to the attacks of the tories, was now supplanted by Keppel, a young nobleman of good family, who from the post of private secretary was rapidly promoted to high honours, created earl of Albemarle, and distinguished with the garter. This nobleman had manifested toward him great respect and confidence, professed a favourable disposition towards the tories, and promised to communicate such information as might enable him to ascertain the real sentiments of his royal master.

CHAPTER 9.

1701—1702.

Marlborough accompanies king William to Holland—Intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations for the grand alliance—Difficulties arising from the situation of the European powers—Concludes treaties with the emperor and the states—With Sweden and Prussia—Correspondence with lord Godolphin—Intrigues for a change of administration, during the stay of Marlborough at the Hague—Anxiety of Marlborough to avert the fall of the tory ministry—Death of James the second, and acknowledgment of his son as king of England, by Louis the fourteenth—Effects of this acknowledgment in England, and unpopularity of the tories—The king embarks for England—Dissolves the parliament—Changes in administration—Death of William—His dying recommendation of Marlborough to his successor.

MARLBOROUGH embarked with the king at Margate, on the 1st of July, and reached the Hague on the 3rd, prepared to fulfil his instructions.

He commenced his negotiations under inauspicious circumstances. Louis had no sooner accepted the will of Charles the second, than he carried into execution the measures which had been previously matured, for securing tranquil possession of the spanish throne. He directed his first attention to the Netherlands, whence he most dreaded an attack. He gained the elector of Bavaria, to whom the government had been confided, by the deceased monarch, and not only secured the frontier fortresses, but detained 15,000 dutch troops, who, in virtue of a convention with Spain, formed the garrisons of the barrier towns. The loss of so large a body, consisting of the flower of the army, and the sudden advance of a french force towards the frontier, intimidated the dutch; and to obtain the liberation of their captive troops, they

acknowledged Philip as king of Spain. Their example induced the tory ministry to extort a similar recognition from William.

At the same time, Louis affected great anxiety to dissipate the alarms conceived both in England and Holland, by the transfer of Spain to a Bourbon prince, and dispatched d'Avaux to the Hague to open a negotiation. On the arrival of Marlborough, the discussion was still pending, and no expedient was neglected to alarm or lure the states. Indeed pensionary Heinsius himself, though zealously attached to William, was persuaded that an arrangement might yet be effected, and expressed his hopes that Louis would give satisfaction to the emperor rather than incur the risk of a war.*

To prevent the invasion of Spain on the only accessible quarter, Louis had formed a treaty of alliance with Portugal. He obtained also the recognition of Philip, in the Milanese and the Two Sicilies. By a treaty with the duke of Savoy, he secured the command of Italy; while the occupation of Mantua and the neighbouring fortresses, with the consent of the respective sovereigns, not only opened the principal passages into Lombardy, but afforded the means for a direct attack against the Austrian dominions.

Germany was at this time agitated by civil and religious feuds, which facilitated the intrigues of the french monarch, and many of the princes openly embraced his cause.

The emperor Leopold was the only sovereign from whom the slightest opposition to the encroachments of France could be expected; but he was embarrassed by the disorder of his finances, by a rising rebellion in Hungary, which was fomented by french intrigues, and by the prospect of new aggressions from the Turks. Yet, amidst these dangers and difficulties, he stood in the breach, with a spirit worthy of his magnanimous ancestry. He was indeed secretly instigated by William to maintain the interests of

* Marlborough to lord Godolphin, August 6, 1701.

his house, and the dignity of his character; and urged to make an immediate effort in Italy, with the hope that a momentary success would encourage the well-intentioned, and rouse the European states, in defence of their independence.*

Accordingly Leopold publicly protested against the usurpation of the spanish throne, and dispatched an army across the Trentine Alps, under the command of prince Eugene, with the design of making a prompt and effectual impression in a quarter where the nature of the country circumscribed the enemy in their means of defence. Already had the hero of Zenta displayed his characteristic spirit of enterprise by scaling the natural barriers of Italy, and establishing his army on the border of Lombardy; and all Europe waited, in anxious suspense, the result of the approaching conflict.

Hitherto William had himself directed his political, as well as military system. But on this occasion he confided the negotiations, arising from such new and critical circumstances, to Marlborough, being fully convinced of his judgment and abilities, and conscious of his influence over the English ministry.

As a preparatory step, a subsidiary treaty had been signed with Denmark, before the king's departure from England; and overtures were now made for a series of alliances with different princes and states.

The negotiation was not confined to the states of Germany, but extended to those of Denmark, Sweden, and Muscovy, whose mutual jealousies might have raised obstacles to this extensive system of confederation. In the arrangement of a plan, which embraced the varied interests of the greater part of Europe, our able negotiator had to bring to unison, the wishes of his own sovereign, the selfish timidity and political prejudices of the british ministry, the commercial cupidity of the dutch, the captious and grasping spirit of the German states, and, above all, the lofty pretensions of the emperor, who strenuously asserted the rights of

* Count Wratislaw to the earl of Marlborough, Vienna, May 4, 1701.

his family to the whole spanish monarchy. In this delicate task his abilities and discretion were eminently conspicuous, and his consummate address was displayed in soothing mutual jealousies, and reconciling discordant views. His correspondence with his friend lord Godolphin enables us to throw additional light on these important transactions.

Among the negotiations committed to his management, one of the most difficult, was that with Sweden. Charles the twelfth had excited general admiration, by heroism almost romantic, as well as by a series of enterprises, distinguished no less for boldness of design, than for promptitude and vigour of execution. Having humbled the Danes and Poles, he was engaged in wreaking his vengeance on the czar, Peter, whom he had recently defeated at Narva, with a great disparity of force.

It was an object of high importance to conciliate a monarch who held the balance of the North; for besides an auxiliary force, which he was entitled to claim from England, in virtue of existing treaties, he might, by again embroiling himself with Denmark, have frustrated the engagement lately formed for drawing subsidiary troops from that kingdom, and its dependent duchy of Holstein. This object, however, was not of easy attainment. Although Charles was inclined to the alliance with England, and jealous of French preponderance, Louis spared no flattery to captivate his lofty spirit, and gratify his love of applause. He had applied with still more success to his venal ministry; and remittances to a vast amount, which were traced from Paris to Stockholm, proved, that the french court would neglect neither bribes nor intrigues, to secure the alliance of Sweden.

The knowledge of these circumstances prompted Marlborough to overstep his usual caution in hastening the arrangement. He pressed the english ministry to fulfil their promise of furnishing a considerable quantity of cloth and salt-petre, for the use of the swedish army, and importuned Godolphin to obviate the difficulties which arose in the course of the negotiation. To counteract the influence of french gold, he lavished presents on

the swedish ministry, and had the satisfaction to succeed in obtaining their support. At length he even ventured to conclude a convention, without submitting it to the previous approbation of the lords justices, from a conviction that the urgency of the case would justify a deviation from the regular forms of office.*

The object of this convention was two-fold: the first to prevent Sweden from joining France, the second to bind Charles not to insist on the succours, in men and ships, stipulated by treaty. These objects were both attained, and England was exempted from the claim of succour, by paying 200,000 crowns, as an equivalent, and by becoming responsible for 300,000 more, which were to be advanced by the dutch on the customs of Riga. Commissioners also were to be appointed to devise in what manner the confederates might best assist each other, should the contest with Russia continue, or should a war break out with Denmark. In a word this was a tacit engagement, not only to obtain troops from Denmark and Holstein, but eventually from Russia, and even from Sweden itself.†

The negotiation with Frederic, king of Prussia, presented difficulties of another kind. The great objects of this sovereign were, to recruit his finances by a subsidiary treaty, and still more, to obtain the confirmation of the regal title, which he had recently assumed, and which many prudential reasons induced the emperor to delay. These points he pressed with the utmost warmth and pertinacity, well aware that the allies were desirous of conciliating his friendship, no less from his influence as the first protestant prince of the empire, than from his matrimonial connection with the house of Hanover. Marlborough, however, was too sensible of the timidity or caution of his friends in the ministry, to implicate the government in a subsidiary treaty, without the consent of parliament, and therefore he found means to retard any definitive

* Letter from Marlborough to Godolphin, Sept. 23, 1701.

† Letter to Lord Godolphin.

arrangement, yet without giving umbrage to a prince whose co-operation was deemed so necessary. Although an agreement was drawn out for an auxiliary force of 5,000 men, in the first instance, and eventually for 20,000 more, the treaty was not brought to a formal conclusion, till after the return of Marlborough to England,* and it had received the sanction of parliament.

The extravagant pretensions of the imperial court clogged the fundamental negotiation of the two maritime powers. Marlborough experienced no trifling difficulty in reconciling these lofty claims with the timid caution of the dutch, and the commercial jealousy of the english. One of his letters to Godolphin, dated July 22, displays his embarrassments, on a point so important to the whole confederacy, as well as the firmness and discretion which he displayed on this delicate occasion.

Relating the first of his conferences with the imperial envoys and the pensionary, he observes:—

“ A great deal of time was spent in the emperor’s ministers complaining of the Treaty of Partition, and when we came to the business for which we met, they would have the foundation of the treaty to be for lessening the power of France, and assisting the emperor in his just rights to the monarchy of Spain. But the pensionary would not consent to any thing farther, than that the emperor ought to be satisfied with having Flanders, which would be a security to the dutch, and Milan, as a fief of the empire. After four hours wrangling, the two envoys went away; and then I endeavoured to let the pensionary see that no treaty of this kind would be acceptable in England, if there were not care taken of the Mediterranean and the West Indies. When I gave the king an account, he was of my mind, so that the pensionary has promised to use his endeavours with the town of Amsterdam; for they are unwilling to consent to any thing more than Flanders and Milan.”

A negotiation commenced by the contracting parties on

* Correspondence of Marlborough with lord Godolphin.

principles so discordant, promised no speedy issue; and the difficulty was increased by the necessity of consulting the lords justices in England. The zeal and address of Marlborough, however, triumphed over these obstacles, and by a letter dated in the commencement of September, we find the treaty reduced in form, and transmitted to lord Godolphin, for his approbation. Some trifling alterations were made at the suggestion of all parties, and the treaty was finally signed on the 7th of September, for the sanction of parliament.

The maritime powers pledged themselves to obtain satisfaction for the emperor's claims on the Spanish succession, and should their negotiations prove fruitless, in two months, the contracting parties agreed to assist each other with their whole force. Considering the possession of the Netherlands of the utmost consequence, the confederates were to employ their efforts in recovering those provinces as a barrier to Holland; and similar exertions were to be made for securing Milan to the house of Austria, together with Naples and Sicily.

To favour the commercial interests of the maritime powers, a stipulation was introduced, authorizing them to retain all their conquests in the Spanish Indies. The members of the alliance also engaged to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same government, or in the same family; and to restrain the french from possessing any part of the spanish territories, beyond the Atlantic. The subjects of England and Holland were to enjoy the same privileges of trade in Spain as under the austrian dynasty, and in case of peace, the barrier for the dutch, and the privileges of trade were not only to be secured by treaty, but a defensive alliance was to be formed, to obviate future dangers.

The leading articles were confirmed by a separate alliance between the two maritime powers. In this engagement were comprised the guaranty of former treaties, mutual succour, in case of attack, and the faithful execution of the last engagement with the emperor.

In the arrangement of the alliance with the emperor, Marlborough encountered considerable embarrassments, with regard to the speci-

fication of what was called the *denombrement*, or relative proportion of troops, to be supplied by each of the contracting parties. He was urged both by the dutch government, and even by William, to fix this proportion for England, on his own authority; but he declined incurring such responsibility, as disrespectful to the parliament, if not contrary to the constitution, to stipulate for the maintenance of a specific military force, before the legislative sanction was obtained. His correspondence on this head displays his usual judgment and firmness, and he thus concludes a letter on this subject:—

“ TO MR. SECRETARY HEDGES.

“ Oct. 3-14. I will let you know the method I could wish his majesty would take, which is very plainly to let the parliament know what the emperor and the dutch are to furnish; and at the same time to give his own opinion very frankly, and that by the 24th of November, our style, which is the day the two months end, mentioned in the treaty, he is obliged to fix this *denombrement*. I think by this method we shall have the parliament on our side, and gain a greater number of men than the other way. Were I with you I could say a great deal upon this subject; for I am so fully persuaded that, if the king should be prevailed upon to settle this by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England; and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe: for if the king and parliament begin with a dispute, France will give what laws she pleases.

“ I am sure I would rather be buried alive than be the fatal instrument of such misfortunes.”

To lord Godolphin also he observes in the same firm and explicit manner:—

“ Oct. 21, 1701. It is very plain to me that the pensioner continues his opinion, that I ought to finish the *denombrement* before the meeting of the parliament; but I have been so positive, that he despairs of prevailing upon me; but I am afraid he hopes the king may be able, when he comes to England, to persuade yourself and the cabinet council to it, so that I may have orders sent me, believing that I should then make no difficulty; but I do

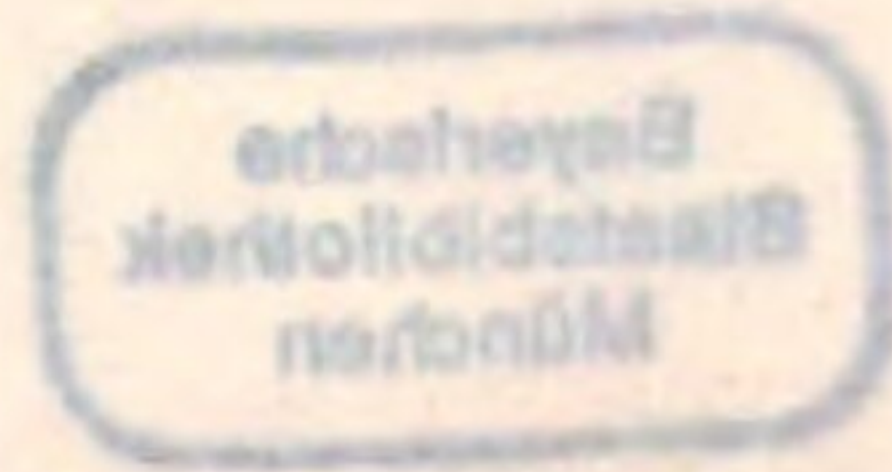
assure you, that I am so persuaded that the doing of this, by his majesty's authority, would prove so fatal to himself, and the kingdom, that I should desire to be recalled; for, before God, I will die sooner than do so fatal a thing."

The objections of Marlborough, supported by his friends in England, produced their effect; and a separate convention was settled stipulating 90,000 men for the quota of the emperor, 10,000 for that of the dutch, and leaving that of England, which was privately settled at 40,000 men, to be finally fixed by parliament. We find several of his letters earnestly and repeatedly urging his friends in England to sanction this arrangement, as the means of gaining the confidence of the king, and saving their country and Europe.

Besides these primary treaties, overtures were made to the elector palatine and other german princes. But as these engagements involved the stipulation of subsidies, Marlborough combated the inclinations of the king, and at length prevailed on him to delay the conclusion of specific treaties, until they could be submitted to the great council of the nation.

William being convinced that all the proposals of Louis to negotiate were illusory, exerted his utmost efforts to meet the contest, which he considered as inevitable. Besides the prospect of support which he held forth to the emperor, he was anxious to deprive the french monarch of those pecuniary resources which Spain was expected to furnish from her American colonies. He therefore formed the plan of sending a fleet to intercept the flota, then on the point of departure. He readily obtained the co-operation of the states, who were anxious to secure the effects of their own merchants; and he employed the agency of Marlborough to bring the english ministry into his views.* By this expedient he obtained the consent of the lords justices, to detach a part of the british fleet on the expedition; and though no capture was made, because the flota was not permitted to sail, yet it produced the effect of depriving France of the spanish treasures, on which the greatest reliance had been placed.

* Marlborough's Correspondence with lord Godolphin.



Collaterally with these negotiations the attention of Marlborough was occupied by domestic politics, and the intrigues for a change of administration.

When William intrusted the management of affairs to the tories, he hoped that the change would give stability to his government. But the event did not accord with his expectations. He indeed gained his object in securing the establishment of the protestant succession; yet in every other view he was grievously disappointed.

Notwithstanding the attempts of the tories to assume a merit for their reluctant concession, the tide of popularity was turned against them. The whigs, though hated in power, became the favourites of the nation when in disgrace; while the tories, by indulging their party vengeance, excited general disgust, and no less offended the people than the king. As they were adverse to the very principles on which his government was founded, their opposition to his measures was regarded as the effect of antipathy to his person; nor was their conduct in foreign affairs calculated to redeem the errors and selfishness of their domestic policy: they displayed the most degrading servility towards France, as well as a lukewarmness equally culpable, to the honour and permanent interests of their own country.

The king felt the irksomeness of his situation; but discouraged by repeated disappointments, he sunk into a state of irresolution. He found it impossible to conduct the government with a tory ministry; yet he knew not how to regain the confidence of the whigs; and even if he recalled them to office, he was apprehensive that they would again prove themselves too weak to maintain the authority of the crown. Thus situated, he regarded the period of the tory administration as the most perplexing of his whole life, and anxiously watched the current of popular opinion to liberate himself from their control. Such was the temper in which he took his departure for Holland. During his stay abroad, his impatience and anxiety hourly increased; and he frequently recurred to the advice of his confidential counsellor, Sunderland, who in-

flamed his resentment against the tories, and strenuously recommended a reconciliation with the whigs.*

Godolphin and his party were conscious of their demerits with the king, and were consequently anxious to ascertain his real views. Accordingly, soon after William's arrival in Holland, the minister transmitted to him a scheme for conducting the business of the ensuing session, and earnestly recommended a speedy meeting of parliament. The expedient was, however, fruitless; for William contrived to invent pretexts for delay, till he could discover the real strength of the whigs, and the prevailing disposition of the country.†

Marlborough was too zealously attached to his friends and party, to witness without interest the struggles which agitated the mind of his royal master. His correspondence strongly depicts his own feelings as well as the embarrassment and smothered indignation of the king. He was not unacquainted with the influence and suggestions of Sunderland; and notwithstanding their former friendship and recent family connection, he indignantly dwells on his private machinations, and more than once refers to his name with expressions of abhorrence. He seems, however, to have confided in the friendship of the earl of Albemarle, who affected great zeal for the tory cause, and promised to apprise him of the sentiments of the king; and to the latest moment he flattered himself that the resentment of the monarch would subside, or that the tories would regain his confidence.

At this period Godolphin also caught the alarm, and announced his resolution to retire from office. Marlborough, however, earnestly deprecated this precipitate measure. In several letters he urges his friend to regulate his conduct by the advice of lord Rochester, and the other chiefs of the party, and above all to wait his own return, hinting that he himself would follow the example, if the king should persist in the line of policy which he had apparently adopted.

* King William and lord Sunderland—Hardwicke Papers, v. 2, p. 443.

† Correspondence of Marlborough with Godolphin.

The tone of Marlborough's correspondence at this crisis, shews that he entertained little hope of any change favourable to the tory cause. The antigalican party in Holland, which was extremely powerful, importuned the king to dissolve the parliament, and chuse a ministry inclined to act vigorously against France; and their representations were warmly seconded by pensionary Heinsius, who possessed the full confidence of the monarch. Several persons of consideration in England repaired to Holland for the same purpose. Among these we find the earl of Carlisle, the accredited agent of the whigs, who was strongly recommended by lord Sunderland, and hoped to supplant Godolphin at the treasury board. The king was thus beset by the enemies of the tories, while his habitual reserve rendered him inaccessible to those of opposite sentiments. A temporary indisposition contributed to increase his seclusion, and gave ample scope to the representations of those who were labouring for a change.

Marlborough himself, though attached to his party, was perfectly conscious of their demerits, and anxiously endeavoured to instil into them such maxims of policy as would gratify the king, and promote the public cause. In several of his letters he expresses his conviction, that, if they did not support the system of continental connections, and oppose a vigorous resistance to the power of France, they would not only be accessory to their own disgrace, but to the ruin of their country. These well-timed remonstrances produced little effect, and he had the mortification to observe the alienation of the king hourly increase.

As a last resource he persuaded Godolphin to write an ostensible letter, which he might communicate to the king as a pledge of the favourable intentions entertained by his party. Accordingly the minister sent a long and laboured epistle, in which he expatiated on the claims of the tories to public confidence, dwelt on the large supplies which they had voted in the preceding sessions, and expressed a conviction that they would redeem the pledge they had given to prosecute the war against France with vigour and effect. Finally, he pressed for a speedy proclamation, sum-

moning the parliament at an early period, to resume its beneficial labours.*

This letter was submitted by Marlborough to the king, but received with a degree of reserve, ill calculated to dissipate their alarms and anxiety.

In the midst of this political struggle, James the second, died on the 16th of September, and the acknowledgment of his son as king by Louis the fourteenth roused general resentment in England. Addresses poured in from all quarters expressing the warmest attachment to the established government, as well as equal indignation at the unexampled perfidy and unwarrantable ambition of the french court. In consequence of this change in the public sentiment, the irresolution of William was changed into confidence, and he took the resolution of recurring to the whigs, in whom alone he could confide.

In this crisis he acted with his characteristic secrecy. He did not undeceive Marlborough in the hope that his friends might yet continue in office; and, on the point of departure, gave him strict orders to remain in Holland, as well to evade his remonstrances, as to spare him the mortification of witnessing the intended change. He employed the agency of Heinsius to delay his return, under the pretence of completing the recent arrangements. Finally, he contrived to postpone his own journey, first under the plea of sickness, and afterwards of unfavourable winds, till he saw that the public opinion in England had taken a decided turn. Having thus wrought upon the expectations of Marlborough and his friends, he suddenly embarked, and appeared in England before the least notice had transpired of his voyage.

In the interval, Marlborough remained in the most anxious suspense. His letters show that pretence after pretence was employed to detain him on the continent; and that he watched the arrival of each successive post to confirm his hopes, or realise his

* Godolphin to Marlborough, Sept. 9, 1701.

fears. Having matured the negotiations with which he was charged, he obtained the long wished for permission to return; but at the very moment of his embarkation, he was thunderstruck by the receipt of a letter from secretary Hedges, announcing the dissolution of parliament, and the retirement of his friend Godolphin from office.*

Without a moment's delay he quitted the Hague, and on his arrival in England found his own party held in general detestation, for the mortifications they had heaped on the king; and the dishonour which they had brought upon the nation, by their timidity in foreign transactions, and violence in domestic policy. Nor were the circumstances of their disgrace calculated to alleviate his chagrin at the failure of his endeavours to rouse them to a more efficient discharge of their public duty.

Soon after his disembarkation, the king had made a final appeal to the tory chiefs, with the view of ascertaining their intentions with regard to foreign policy, and inducing them to desist from the prosecution of the impeached lords. His application was however fruitless, and he had no alternative but to appeal to the nation, and avail himself of the public spirit manifested in all quarters. He accordingly issued a proclamation for a new parliament, but still doubtful whether the whigs could combat that influence, which the landed property of the tories enabled them to exercise in elections, he delayed the intended change of administration. This indecision operated to the disadvantage of the whigs, by enabling the ministers to employ the interest of the crown in support of their own party. Accordingly the whigs were not found to have gained in the new parliament that complete preponderance which was consonant to the wishes of the king and the state of public feeling. On the usual trial of strength in the choice of a speaker, Harley was re-elected by a majority of fourteen, in opposition to Sir Thomas Lyttleton, who was supported by the whigs.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the zeal manifested by

* Secretary Vernon to the earl of Marlborough, Nov. 11, 1701.

the great mass of the people, and a reliance on the patriotism of the moderate tories, to whom Harley owed his election, encouraged the king to make a farther change in the ministry. On the 27th of December lord Carlisle was appointed first lord of the treasury, and some modifications were made in the privy council. Lord Somers, by whose advice the king had been principally guided, was sensible of the critical state of affairs, and not only declined accepting an office, but induced the chief members of his party to withdraw their pretensions, and give a disinterested support to government.

The speech from the throne, which was the composition of Somers, contained an animated appeal to the spirit and honour of the nation. The affront offered to the british crown by the acknowledgment of the pretended prince of Wales, was described in terms of dignified resentment, and the parliament was urged to adopt the most effectual means for securing the protestant succession, and frustrating the hopes of those who meditated the overthrow of the established government. The manly eloquence of this speech excited a transport of enthusiasm. The peers announced their concurrence by a loyal address, which was laid on the table for signature, that it might appear no less the act of each individual than the determination of the whole body. It was signed by seventy peers, including those of every distinction and party. In the House of Commons also the moderate tories vied with the whigs in testifying their zeal and patriotism.

The temper of the two houses induced the king to make farther changes. On the 4th of January, secretary Hedges was superseded by the earl of Manchester, the earl of Pembroke was appointed lord high admiral, and his place of president of the council transferred to the duke of Somerset. Lord Rochester was suffered to retain the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, only because it was difficult to find a proper successor. By these modifications the ministry and household consisted of a motly mixture of whigs and moderate tories.

The concern of Marlborough for the resignation of Godolphin, and the dissolution of the parliament was considerably tempered

by the countenance shewn to that moderate class of his party with whom he was identified, and particularly by the distinction conferred on his confidential friend Harley. He had the additional satisfaction to observe the concurrence of the parliament and ministry in that system of policy, which he had in vain recommended to his colleagues.

The treaties which he had concluded were received with the most unqualified approbation, and liberal supplies voted for the prosecution of the war. An address was presented from the house of commons, requesting the king to introduce an article in the treaties of alliance stipulating that no peace should be concluded with France, until reparation was made for the great indignity offered to the nation, by the acknowledgment of the pretended prince of Wales; nor were the cares of the legislature confined to precautions against a foreign enemy. Convinced that no system of policy could be stable, while the domestic establishment remained in uncertainty, the parliament passed several bills for securing the protestant succession. An act of attainder, against the pretended prince of Wales, and the queen dowager, was followed by another, for the security of his majesty's person, and the succession to the crown in the protestant line. This act also contained a clause enjoining all persons to abjure the pretended prince of Wales; and a second making it equally criminal to imagine or compass the death of the princess of Denmark, as that of the king's eldest son and heir. Strenuous opposition was made to these measures, by the high tories, at the head of whom was Nottingham; but their efforts only served to shew their general unpopularity.

The bill of abjuration was the last public act of our great deliverer. His health had been so long declining, and his infirmities were much increased by anxiety of mind arising from the recent feuds at home, and embarrassments abroad, that during the preceding summer, he had repeatedly prognosticated to his friends his approaching dissolution. His death was accelerated by an accidental fall from his horse, while hunting in the park at Hampton Court. Supported by the energy of his mind, his constitution struggled for several weeks against the progress of decay, and his dissolution

was suspended by Providence, until he had completed the great edifice of civil and religious liberty. When the bill of abjuration was presented for his signature, his hand was too feeble to perform its office, and he stamped his name to this national legacy, a few hours before he breathed his last. He expired on the 8th of March 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

The zeal which Marlborough had manifested in concluding the treaties of alliance, and in promoting the grand designs of William, joined with the fullest conviction of his great talents, as a general and statesman, obliterated the royal prejudices against his person, and the doubts entertained of his fidelity. Considering him as the most proper agent to consolidate the protestant succession, and carry into effect the extensive system which had been formed for the preservation of civil and religious liberty, the last advice of William to his successor was, a strong recommendation of Marlborough, as the most proper person in her dominions, to lead her armies, and direct her counsels.*

Indeed the subsequent conduct of Marlborough verified the profound judgment of the dying monarch. Whatever may have been his errors and his faults in the preceding period of doubt and infidelity; whatever intercourse he had hitherto maintained with his former sovereign and benefactor, or which he afterwards held with the Stuart family, he religiously fulfilled the great trust reposed in him, by his sovereign and his country, and more than any individual, contributed to consolidate the great work of the revolution, to baffle the hopes and machinations of the Stuarts and their adherents, and to smite that great colossus of power, which threatened the destruction of civil and religious liberty, and on which they placed their hopes of effecting a counter-revolution.

* Life of Marlborough, p. 30.—Ledyard v. 1, p. 136.

CHAPTER 10.

1702.

ACCESSION OF ANNE—*Favours conferred on the earl and countess of Marlborough as well as their relatives and friends—Godolphin placed at the head of the treasury—Formation of a tory administration—Mission of Marlborough to the Hague—Situation of the queen, and the countess of Marlborough—Their party bickerings—Embarrassments of Marlborough and Godolphin, from the Whig partialities of the countess.*

ON the death of William the crown devolved on Anne, in conformity with the order of succession, established at the revolution. At the time of the queen's accession, the doubts which she had formerly entertained, were suppressed by the change of circumstances, or the brilliant prospect which opened to her view. The recent death of her father relieved her from the scruples which she had felt at his exclusion, and the disputed legitimacy of her brother induced her to acquiesce in the arrangements of the legislature; for even if he was not supposititious, she persuaded herself that he was disqualified by his religious principles, and considered her assumption of the crown as necessary to secure the existence of the established church.*

The first exercise of her power was the nomination of the prince her husband to the offices of generalissimo of the forces, and lord high admiral. Being regarded only as a subject, he still continued to occupy a seat in the house of peers, in the quality of duke of Cumberland.

The distinguished merits of the earl of Marlborough, his former zeal and services, his disgrace on her account, and her own romantic affection to his countess, were powerful recommendations to her

* The duchess observes :—"When I saw she had such a partiality to those that I knew to be jacobites, I asked her one day whether she had a mind to give up her crown, for if it had been her conscience not to wear it, I do solemnly protest I would not have disturbed her, or struggled as I did. But she told me she was not sure the prince of Wales was her brother, and that it was not practicable for him to come here, without ruin to the religion and country." Narrative upon Mrs. Morley's coming to the crown. St. Alban's, Oct. 29, 1709.

favour and confidence. Accordingly the honours which his talents had extorted from William, were but the prelude to higher distinctions and employments. Three days after her accession he was nominated knight of the garter. On the ensuing day he was appointed captain general of the english forces, at home and abroad, and soon afterwards master of the ordnance. His countess was also made groom of the stole and mistress of the robes, and intrusted with the management of the privy purse.

To the countess the queen also gave an additional and delicate proof of her regard. Recollecting that in their excursions through Windsor park she had repeatedly admired the situation of the great lodge, the queen seized the earliest opportunity of offering her the rangership, to which that lodge was attached. In one of her familiar notes, after alluding to lord Portland, who had been ranger under the late king, she added, "Mentioning this worthy person puts me in mind to ask dear Mrs. Freeman a question which I would have done some time ago; and that is, if you would have the lodge for your life, because the warrant must be made accordingly; and any thing that is of so much satisfaction as this poor place seems to be to you, I would give dear Mrs. Freeman for all her days, which I pray God may be as many and as truly happy as this world can make you."* The countess gratefully accepted this offer, embellished the lodge at a great expense, and it became her favourite residence.

Similar proofs of favour flowed on those who were connected with Marlborough and his lady by blood or friendship. Lady Harriet Godolphin and lady Spencer, their two daughters, were nominated ladies of the bed chamber. The Sunderland family also felt the beneficial effects of their powerful interest. At the particular intercession of the countess, Robert, earl of Sunderland obtained the renewal of the annual pension of £.2,000 which had been granted him by the late king, together with the payment of the arrears since its suspension. By such an unexpected instance of

* The queen to lady Marlborough, May 19, 1702.

kindness, the harmony between the two families was restored, and we discover several grateful letters from the earl and countess of Sunderland, one of which is inserted, as indicating the character and address of the veteran statesman.

“ Althorp, March 11.

“ Mr. Guy has given me an account of what you said to him concerning me, which I received with great pleasure. Whatever coldness has been between us of late, I am sure on my side, and I believe on your's, was from thinking differently of the public; which as it is at an end, so I dare confidently say it will never be again. To convince you of this, I need only tell you that I wished all yesterday, that every article might be in the queen's speech, which when the letters came I found. This may appear vain, but it is true, and my wife can witness it. Except what concerns friends in private affairs, I have no thought nor wish, but that the queen may reign long and prosperously over us. I know nothing else can keep this country from being more miserable than any ever was; and in country all is included, oneself, wife, children, friends, and every thing that is dear. I have no more ambition than a stock or a stone. I never was very covetous, and I have no spleen against any creature living, but those that I think would hurt the government; and I have now the same zealous and warm concern for the queen, you have seen in me for the poor king that is gone. This being all true, I think it is not likely we should differ much in opinion, for when the desires and the wills are the same, and not biassed by some unruly passion, understandings must always agree. If you will reflect back since we were acquainted, you cannot but know that I have ever had great inclination and esteem for you, which added to the rest must for ever make me desirous to live kindly and easily with you, from which I shall never change. All I wish is to die quietly, with the hopes that my country may not be miserable, which I shall do, if the queen governs as she says, which I do not doubt, because she says it, and because if she departs from it, or slackens only for three months, she, her people, and her servants, will be for ever and unavoidably undone. She is now in the king's place, her interest

is the same as his was. She may soon gain a confidence both abroad and at home, without which nothing can be done; and once more, if she acts as she speaks, she will be safe, happy, and adored. All I have writ is exactly true, which I think you will believe, because you never yet were deceived by me. I sent yesterday a letter for you to my lord Spencer, who I suppose has delivered it to you. I am, &c."

At the instance of Marlborough, and his lady, the queen consigned the management of the finances to lord Godolphin, with the title and privileges of lord high treasurer.

The principles of Marlborough, and his friend and coadjutor Godolphin, indirectly influenced the character of the administration formed under their auspices. As they were both moderate tories, and as the whig partialities of the countess were either not yet developed, or not allowed to operate, the queen was left to consult her own private inclinations, and private antipathies in the choice of a ministry, from which the whigs were mostly excluded.

Lord Nottingham, one of the tory chiefs, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the duke of Manchester, and he was even permitted to restore his dependent, Sir Charles Hedges, to office, in the place of Mr. Vernon. Lord Rochester, uncle to the queen, and the most ardent of the same party, continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, and was suffered to take an active share in the management of domestic affairs. The duke of Somerset was succeeded in the high office of lord president by the earl of Pembroke, whose conduct was not marked by any party attachment. The earl of Bradford was made treasurer of the household. John marquis of Normandy, afterwards duke of Buckingham, received the privy seal; and the earl of Jersy still retained the post of lord chamberlain. The comptroller's staff was transferred from lord Wharton, a zealous whig, to Sir Edward Seymour. Mr. Howe, who had personally insulted the deceased king, in his parliamentary career, was made one of the joint paymasters of guards and garrisons; and Sir John Leveson Gower chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Sir Nathan Wright retained the post of lord keeper; and the offices of solicitor and attorney general were conferred on

Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Northey. Most of the subordinate posts were also filled by tories. Indeed the only whigs who occupied stations of consequence, were the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. Even the privy council was purged of the obnoxious party; for the names of the distinguished whig leaders, Halifax, Somers, and Orford, found no place in the list announced by the new sovereign.

The political principles of prince George being perfectly in unison with those of his consort, the commission or council by which he was assisted, as lord high admiral, was filled by persons of congenial character. The vice-admiral of England, and president of the commission, was Sir George Rook, who had indulged his aversion to the whigs, even in the disposal of naval officers. Another member was George Churchill, brother to Marlborough, who is represented by the countess as an inveterate jacobite.

Marlborough was mindful of his former friendship with the duke of Shrewsbury. Although that nobleman was absent at Rome, he prevailed on the queen to offer him the post of master of the horse. As he declined the employment, under the plea of ill health, it was conferred on the duke of Somerset, a nobleman who possessed great family interest, but was too little distinguished either for talents or party zeal, to fall under the dislike which the queen fostered against the rest of the whigs.

Not satisfied with monopolising the higher posts of the state and the law, the tories were anxious to exclude their political antagonists even from the subordinate office of justice of the peace. In this view they were however thwarted by the moderate counsels of Marlborough and Godolphin, who would not suffer them to indulge their party antipathies to the full extent. Even this petty diversity of opinion, on a matter of such trifling importance, became afterwards a germ of dispute, and the consequent bickerings were inflamed by the interference of Rochester, who was disappointed because he had not himself been placed at the head of the treasury.

As Anne was deeply imbued with the prejudices of the tories, against foreign connections, and as the natural timidity of her

sex inclined her to peace, nothing but the dangers which encompassed her throne, could have urged her to adopt the same vigorous policy, and the same hostility against France, which had marked the reign of her predecessor. Indeed her situation admitted neither of deliberation nor delay. The power of Louis, which had been rapidly augmented by a long and successful career of violence, craft, and usurpation, had now attained its utmost height. The occupation of the towns and countries on the Upper Rhine, opened the way for the invasion of Southern Germany; while the vast preponderance which he had acquired by placing his grandson on the spanish throne, with the possession of the Netherlands, the Milanese, and other dependencies, rendered him the arbiter of Europe.

The dutch, who yet trembled at the recollection of the recent invasion, and who had purchased the liberation of their captive troops, by acknowledging Philip, had no hope of preserving their independence but by the succour and support of England. The emperor, notwithstanding the temporary success of his arms in Italy, was embarrassed by the rising rebellion in Hungary; and found himself engaged in a contest, manifestly unequal, and apparently hopeless, unless he was aided by the maritime powers. The duke of Savoy, hemmed in by the territories of the Bourbon princes, was reduced to a state of vassalage under France, and could entertain no hope of deliverance, unless Austria was enabled to extend its acquisitions in Italy.

Such being the circumstances of those powers, whose position or military force might enable them to make head against the aggressions of France, there seemed little prospect that the states of the continent would succeed in repelling the common danger. It was obvious that if Louis could even for a short period attach the dutch to his interest, or render them passive, and paralyze Austria, he would profit by his vast resources and commanding attitude, to restore the dependent family of Stuart to the british throne, and thus secure the only country which could arrest his career of ambition. Indeed he had given an early proof that such was his intention, by declining to acknowledge the title of the queen.

The death of William consequently spread the utmost consternation among all the continental powers, particularly among the dutch, who were alternately cajoled and threatened by France, in order to detach them from the grand alliance, and break the only link which connected England with the continent. Their suspense and alarm were, however, speedily dissipated. Anne had scarcely ascended the throne, before she dispatched a letter to the states, through her envoy Mr. Stanhope, announcing her intention to maintain the alliances concluded by the late monarch. This letter was immediately circulated through the provinces, and received with transports of joy.

To give additional solemnity to this declaration, the earl of Marlborough was deputed to Holland, as ambassador extraordinary. He reached the Hague on the 28th of March, and his presence called forth a new transport of joy. He consoled the states for the loss of their beloved chief, assured them of a vigorous support on the part of the british government, and obtained in return a promise of their most zealous exertions. He agreed with the heads of the republic and the imperial minister, that war should be declared on the same day at London, the Hague, and Vienna. A plan of operations was also arranged under his direction; and the campaign was even opened, during his stay, by the siege of Kayserswerth, a strong fortress on the Lower Rhine, in the electorate of Cologne, which had been occupied by a french garrison in the preceding year.

Finally, to secure that unity of action, which cannot be obtained under divided authority, he endeavoured to persuade the states to confer on the prince of Denmark the chief command, a post which was coveted by the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, the Duke of Zell, and the archduke Charles.* The dutch however declined this proposal, not only because they placed no confidence in the military talents of the prince, but because they feared he would resist the control of the field deputies, whom they

* The earl of Marlborough to lord Godolphin, March 31, 1702.

sent to the army, to inspect and regulate the conduct of their generals. No instances were spared to overcome their objections. The queen, anxious to gratify the prince, made the most urgent representations, through the channel of the dutch ambassador; and Marlborough was even authorized to announce that unless the prince was appointed to the command, she would not issue the declaration of war against France.* Nothing, however, could vanquish the firmness of the dutch government; and Marlborough left this question in suspense, hoping that in his absence some expedient might be found to obviate the difficulty.

After remaining a few days at the Hague, he returned to England, to take a share in the great struggle of parties, which was expected to arise on the question of peace or war. He reached London on the 26th of March.

The tories having promised the queen to support the protestant succession, and consequently to give their aid in prosecuting the war against France, this resolution was announced as well in the speech from the throne, as in the addresses from both houses of parliament. But deeming themselves established in power, Rochester and the more violent of the party recurred to their favourite maxims of policy, and their aversion to vigorous measures was obviously strengthened by the opposition made to their attempt for engrossing all the authority of the state. They could not indeed, so far belie the pledge they had given, as to oppose the war directly; but in a privy council held to deliberate on the declaration of hostilities against France and Spain, Rochester earnestly deprecated a measure, which would implicate England as a principal, and as strongly recommended the temporising and inefficient expedient of engaging in the contest, only as an auxiliary.

This impolitic advice was ably combated by Marlborough. He contended that to desert the alliances concluded by the late king, would dishonour the nation; and that nothing but the whole

* Cunningham vol. 1, p. 264.

power of England, joined with that of the continental states, would suffice to secure the public independence. He urged that on an active co-operation in the war, depended not only the general tranquillity, but the safety of the protestant succession, and the consequent welfare of England. Adverting to the arrangements recently made with the dutch, and to the solemn promises of support, which he had himself conveyed from the queen, he argued that the slightest hesitation in her majesty to act as became her own honour and interest, would alienate the powers with whom she was united, and terminate in the dissolution of the grand alliance. The advice was seconded by the earl of Pembroke, and the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire. It even found supporters in Nottingham and his moderate friends, and the timid and impolitic counsels of Rochester were overruled.*

This political dissonance produced a temporary schism in the tory party, and occasioned a coldness, which eventually led to a breach in the long friendship between Rochester and Marlborough. Rochester indeed did not content himself with this opposition in the cabinet, but even secretly thwarted the grand schemes which Marlborough had planned; and in the correspondence of this year, we find frequent complaints of his overbearing temper and private machinations.

The parliament was already assembled, before the return of Marlborough to England, and the requisite measures were promptly adopted, for supporting the protestant succession, and prosecuting the war. The oath of abjuration was taken by the members of both houses, and the name of the princess Sophia was introduced in the public prayers for the royal family, as next in succession to the throne. Within a few days the conventions which Marlborough had concluded at the Hague, for the supply of auxiliary troops, and the operations of the campaign, were sanctioned by parliament; and on the 4th of May, in conformity with the promise to the states and Austria, a declaration of hostilities was issued against France and Spain.

* Ledyard, v. 1, p. 149.—Boyer's Queen Anne, p. 14.—Tindal.

Meanwhile the administration had been reduced to more consistency, by the admission of several tories into the subordinate departments; and among others we see the names of lords Dartmouth and Weymouth, as members of the board of trade.

It cannot be supposed that these changes could take place without exciting new party jealousies, and drawing additional odium on Marlborough and Godolphin. Indeed, considering the obstacles which Marlborough had encountered, from the prejudices and monopolising spirit of his own party, it is not improbable that in giving them such an accession of strength, he was swayed by the private inclinations of the queen.

But whatever was the case, his embarrassments on this point were not confined to his public capacity; for even in his domestic circle, he frequently experienced the utmost vexation, from the captious temper and political bias of his consort.

With a native frankness of character, and a spirit too domineering to consult the opinions even of those she loved and esteemed, the countess had imbibed an early partiality to the whig party and principles, which was strengthened by the marriage of her daughter with lord Spencer. Before the accession of Anne, no incident had occurred to create a collision of sentiment between the princess and her favourite, notwithstanding their discordance on political questions; or rather their common antipathy to William absorbed every other consideration. But immediately after that event a change occurred; and in the petty bickerings which arose,* Marlborough and Godolphin were often in-

* Swift observes, that the alienation of the queen from the duchess of Marlborough commenced at her accession. This opinion, which is correct, he evidently formed from the information of Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley.

The duchess herself, in her Conduct, has so far overrated her influence, as to assume the merit of having procured the nomination of the principal whig ministers, after the queen's accession, and her assertions have been implicitly adopted by those writers who are not acquainted with the secret history of the times. The fact is, that on points of minor consideration, the recommendation of the favourite was often attended with effect, but in the great arrangements of state she had no real interest. She felt and even resented this mortification, though in vain; and she has made it a subject of complaint in one of her manuscript narratives. A tory administration was formed in spite of her remonstrances; and from this cause

volved, either because they supported the opinions of their royal mistress, or endeavoured to restrain the antipathies and partialities of the countess. To this subject it is here sufficient to advert, merely to mark the commencement of a dispute, which afterwards rose to so great a height, and operated with so fatal an effect.

Another source of domestic embarrassment was derived from the conduct and principles of his brother George Churchill. Availing himself of his influence with the prince of Denmark, he arrogated a degree of superiority at the naval board, to which he was not entitled; and in particular endeavoured to obtain precedence over his colleague Sir David Mitchell. He was compelled to recede, by the remonstrances of his brother; but his high tory partialities afterwards proved a perpetual source of contention.

Military operations having already commenced on the dutch frontier, Marlborough, accompanied by his countess, departed on the 12th of May to Margate, where a vessel was waiting to convey him to the opposite shore. While he was detained by a contrary wind, the queen continued her usual intimate correspondence with lady Marlborough. During this short interval, we find more than one letter, indicating her kindness and regard, and describing the petty incidents which occurred at court.

A letter from the countess to lord Godolphin, written during this temporary absence, will shew the tone which she had already begun to assume in political transactions, her inveterate hostility to the tories, and the opposition which she made, as well to the queen's partialities, as to the arrangements of her husband and the treasurer.

“ Margate, Tuesday, the 29th of May.

“ Since you have been so kind as to write so long a letter for my satisfaction, I hope it will hold out to read my answer, though

as well as from this period of time, we trace a series of incessant bickerings with the queen. The discrimination invariably made by Anne between the two parties, who were contending for power, furnished an inexhaustible source of controversy; and this discordance of sentiment, though trifling in its origin, increased in vehemence on every subsequent change, till it ended in open and irreconcilable enmity.

I know my opinion is very insignificant upon most occasions. In the first place, I will begin without any compliment, and say that if any thing could give me a worse thought of the meetings of those gentlemen (the tories) than I had before, it would be their desire to turn any man out of an employment to put in my lord Sandwich. This looks to me as if every thing were to be governed by faction and nonsense; and 'tis no matter what look things have in the world, or what men are made use of, if they are but such creatures as will, right or wrong, be at the disposal of two or three arbitrary men that are at the head of them. How long they will be able to support that way of government I can't tell; but if they are strong enough to go on with it, I am apt to think it will not end in hardships only to the lords lieutenants of England.

“ My lord Lexington having a mind to quit his employment, shews he thinks it is better for him to depend upon the whig party, considering his behaviour to the queen and prince formerly; for I am sure self-interest is his first consideration, and I do not think him very wrong in that choice. At least if I had any power to dispose of places, the first rule should be to have those that were proper for the business; the next those that had deserved upon any occasion; and whenever there was room without hurting the public, I think one would with pleasure give employments to those that were in so unhappy a condition as to want them. Whether any of these reasons will serve for my lord Weymouth I am in some doubt; but I am sure he is one that will make a noise, and give dissatisfaction to many that I believe wish well, and could be useful to the government.

“ But that which is the greatest trouble to me is yet to answer, that is, what you say concerning the dispute between my brother George and Sir David Mitchell, whom I do not know, but I think I have heard a great character of him; and I have no sort of patience to think that a brother of lord Marlborough should put the least difficulty, or stop to any thing that is for the queen's service and the good of the country, for any senseless pretension or interest of his own, which, without knowing any thing of the

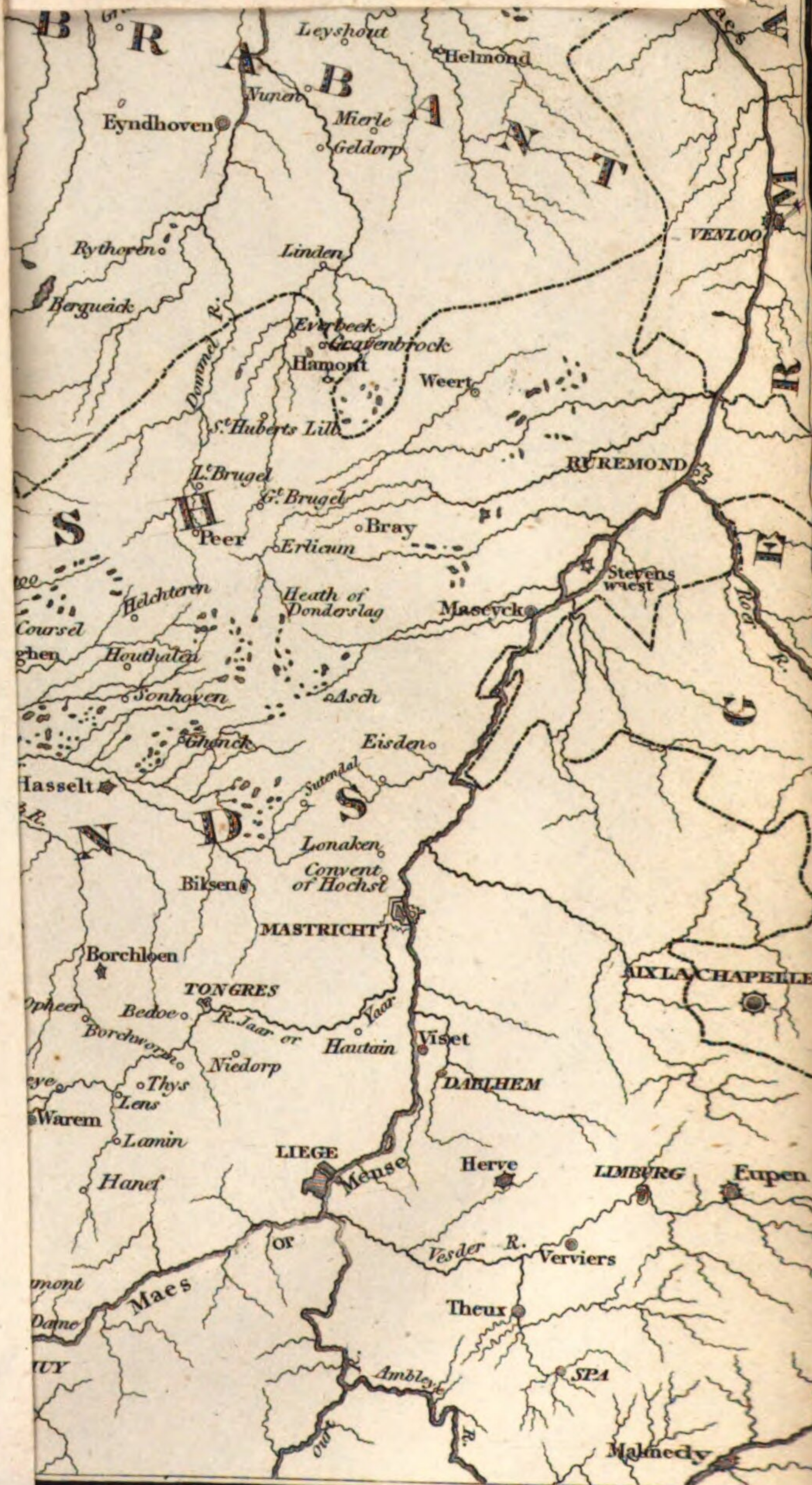
particulars, I am inclined to believe he has no just right to, and certainly he should not make use of the queen's favour but to serve her in the first place."

The impatience of Marlborough to depart for the scene of action was finally gratified; the wind, which had for several days been contrary, changing to a favourable quarter. At this moment, the prospect of a long separation from the tenderest connections, and the anxieties attending his important commission, threw a gloom over his mind, and he saw the signal for departure with the keenest anguish. No lover ever quitted an adored mistress with more poignant sorrow, than he felt on taking leave of his countess. His agitation overcame him, and he hurried on board to hide the agony of his mind, and indulge his grief. A hasty note which he wrote to her on this occasion, presents an interesting picture of his affection.

"Wednesday morning, May 15-26.

"It is impossible to express with what a heavy heart I parted with you when I was by the water's side. I could have given my life to have come back, though I knew my own weakness so much that I durst not, for I knew I should have exposed myself to the company. I did for a great while, with a perspective glass, look upon the cliffs, in hopes I might have had one sight of you. We are now out of sight of Margate, and I have neither soul nor spirits, but I do at this minute suffer so much that nothing but being with you can recompense it. If you will be sensible of what I now feel, you will endeavour ever to be easy to me, and then I shall be most happy, for it is you only that can give me true content. I pray God to make you and your's happy; and if I could contribute any thing to it with the utmost hazard of my life, I should be glad to do it."

Another letter, written during his stay at the Hague, deserves peculiar notice. It shews that ardent affection for his wife which shines in all his correspondence, while it exhibits, like the others, an early proof of those petty bickerings which arose from their discordance in political opinion. His indulgent character and natural mildness are also proved by the complacency with which he takes on himself the blame of irritability of temper.



CHAPTER 11.

1702.

Return of Marlborough to the Hague—Difficulties respecting the appointment of a generalissimo, finally terminated in his favour—State of the confederacy—Situation of the armies—Attempt of the french to surprise Nimeguen—Marlborough repairs to the army—Obstacles and delays arising from the timidity of the dutch government, and hesitation of their generals—Passage of the Waal—Camp at Over-Asselt.

RETURNING to the Hague, Marlborough again laboured to obtain the nomination of the prince of Denmark to the chief command. But fortunately for the honour of England, and the welfare of Europe, his instances were fruitless; and as the preliminary arrangements for the campaign were all matured, he acquiesced in the exclusion of the prince.

Other obstacles, however, arose from the pretensions of the prince of Nassau Saarbruck and the earl of Athlone; the first a prince of the empire; the last a general of great experience and high reputation, and as a native of Holland, warmly supported by such of his countrymen as were jealous of foreign influence, or averse to the extensive system of operation proposed by Marlborough. At length these obstacles were overcome, by the patriotic exertions of pensionary Heinsius, and the party attached to England. The prince and Athlone generously withdrew their pretensions, and Marlborough was raised to the important office, with a salary of £.10,000 a year.

Although his efforts in favour of the prince of Denmark, were as sincere as they were fruitless, the prince who was anxious to signalize himself in a military capacity, was highly chagrined at his exclusion, and suspected that his pretensions had not been

“Hague, May 29.

“We have very ill news from Italy, which makes me very uneasy till I get to the army, fearing that might encourage the french to attempt in these countries. But till I have finished this convention with Hanover, for the 10,000 men, I shall not be able to stir from hence. * * * * *

“Nowwithstanding my being so ill at sea, I thank God my health is much better than when I left you.

“I am extreme uneasy at what you have writ me concerning lord Nottingham's letter. But you might plainly see there was no thought of turning Mr. Palm out. I do assure you, upon my soul, I had much rather the whole world should go wrong than you should be uneasy; for the quiet of my life depends only upon your kindness, and I beg you to believe that you are dearer to me than all things in this world. My temper may make you and myself sometimes uneasy; but when I am alone, and I find you kind, if you knew the true quiet I have in my mind, you would then be convinced of my being entirely your's, and that it is in no other power in this world to make me happy but yourself.”



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supported with sufficient zeal and perseverance. His displeasure was inflamed by the malicious insinuations of Plessen, the danish envoy, who possessed a great share of his confidence. Hence we observe several passages in the correspondence of Marlborough, indicating the vexation he underwent from this cause, and the difficulty he experienced, in allaying the ill-founded suspicions, and pacifying the disappointed ambition of the prince.

After a short stay at the Hague, he hastened to Nimeguen, to assume the command, and give vigour to the military system.

Meanwhile negotiations had been continued in Germany, and many of the states were drawn into a cordial support of the grand alliance. The emperor gained Frederic, elector of Brandenburg, by acknowledging him as king of Prussia; and the queen, at the suggestion of Marlborough, still farther gratified a prince, whose ruling passion was vanity, by promising to grant him the ceremonial enjoyed by other crowned heads.

The members of the house of Brunswic Luneburg were lured by the prospect of succeeding to the british throne. Ten thousand of their troops were in march for the scene of action, even before the subsidiary convention, which Marlborough had concluded, was formally signed. They even compelled the neighbouring princes of Saxe-Gotha and Wolfenbuttel to renounce their connection with the king of France, and to withhold a levy of 12,000 men, who had been raised for his service.

Philip William, elector palatine, whose influence was considerable in the circles of the Rhine, was also engaged in the grand alliance. He was connected with the austrian family, by the marriage of his sister with the emperor Leopold, and he fostered an hereditary antipathy against the french, for their former devastations of the palatinate, which was farther inflamed by a contest with the house of Orleans, relative to some allodial property derived from Charles,* the last elector, who died without issue. He

* Charlotte Elizabeth, duchess of Orleans, was sister of Charles, elector palatine, the last of the branch of Simmeren, who died in 1685, and was succeeded by his distant relative Philip William, duke of Neuburgh.

therefore eagerly acceded to a confederacy, which was likely both to gratify his enmity against France, and his hopes of territorial acquisition. He not only supplied his contingent as a prince of the empire, but engaged to furnish the maritime powers with a considerable body of subsidiary troops.

The minor princes and states were borne away by the example of the greater: even the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, the devoted partisans of France, testified their intention to observe a neutrality. On the same day, therefore, in which the emperor denounced hostilities against the bourbon princes, as sovereign of Austria, the German diet issued a similar declaration, and engaged to supply the usual contingents of troops.

The plan of operations was formed, according to the proportions of force, which were to be respectively furnished by the different members of the alliance. A german army under Louis, margrave of Baden, was to be collected on the Upper Rhine. A second body, composed of prussians, palatines, and dutch, and amounting to 25,000 men, under the prince of Saarbruck, was occupied in besieging Kayserswerth. The principal army had also assembled in the vicinity of Cleves, under the command of Athlone, to cover that part of the frontier, which stretches from the Rhine to the Meuse, and to favour the operations of the prince of Saarbruck. A fourth body of 10,000 men, under the command of Cohorn, the celebrated engineer, was also collected near the mouth of the Scheldt, to secure that quarter, and threaten the district of Bruges.

The preparations and movements of the enemy indicated the most vigorous operations on the side of Holland. On one hand, a force under count de la Motte, and the marquis of Bedmar, who commanded in the name of Philip, covered the western frontier of the Netherlands against the aggressions of Cohorn. On the other, marshal Tallard was detached from the Upper Rhine, with a corps of observation, amounting to 13,000 men, to interrupt the siege of Kayserswerth. But the principal and most numerous army was assembled on the Meuse, and possessed essential advantages, by the occupation of the fortresses in the bishopric of Liege. The

duke of Burgundy, assisted by marshal Boufflers, was appointed to the command.

As it was evident that the presence of a french prince would be signalized by some decisive exploit, the earl of Athlone had thrown a garrison of 12,000 men into Maestricht, and taken post at Cranenburg, in the vicinity of Cleves; while the enemy advanced to Xanten, where the duke of Burgundy joined them in the beginning of May.* While Marlborough was employed in settling with the ministers of the states the plan of the campaign, the french made an effort, which threatened to frustrate his grand designs, and confine his operations to the defence of the dutch frontier. The army of the duke of Burgundy being joined by that of Tallard, suddenly pushed toward the Waal, with the view of surprising Nimeguen, which was without a garrison, and even without a single cannon mounted on the ramparts. The place was saved by the vigorous resistance of the burghers, and the rapid march of Athlone, who entered at the very moment when the enemy had advanced within gunshot of the works. The joy which this deliverance awakened in the dutch, was succeeded by equal consternation, at the danger they had escaped, and the peril which still threatened their frontier. Marlborough, therefore, found it no easy task to vanquish the reluctance of the government to undertake offensive operations, which might expose them to new hazards. He however laboured to digest a plan, which might at once calm their fears, and further his own views for a distant and efficient effort. Three proposals were submitted to the consideration of the states. One, to attack the army of the duke of Burgundy, in a position which it had recently occupied between Goch and Genep, on the right bank of the Meuse; the second, after leaving a corps at Nimeguen, sufficient for the protection of the frontier, to advance up the Rhine, with the view of interrupting the communications of the enemy, and laying the foundation of an offensive system by the reduction of Rheinberg.

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 1, p. 174-5.

The third, which appears to have been suggested by Marlborough himself, was to leave a corps of observation at Nimeguen; to cross the Meuse; and, by an offensive movement towards Brabant, to divert the whole force and attention of the enemy to the spanish Netherlands.* No resolution was to be taken on these different plans, till Marlborough had assumed the command, and the strength of the respective armies could be ascertained.

Having matured his arrangements, he quitted the Hague on the 2nd of July, and repaired to the army, which since the recent enterprise of Boufflers, had been posted along the Waal, between Nimeguen and Fort Schenk.

The acquiescence of Athlone and the prince of Saarbruck, in his appointment to the supreme command, was far from obviating all the difficulties incident to his situation. Instead of the advantages which king William derived from his exalted rank, and authority as stadtholder, Marlborough, as a subject, was exposed to rivalry, and reduced to depend on his own personal interest. His means of directing or influencing the factions in the dutch republic, depended chiefly on the credit of Heinsius, and the other partisans of the war, who themselves shrunk from responsibility. At the army he was subjected to the control of the field deputies, who though vested with great powers, were yet ignorant of military affairs; and consequently were either led by the opinions of their own generals, or wasted the most decisive moments in fruitless deliberation, and in soliciting instructions from the Hague. Among the generals he found also more rivals than coadjutors. By them he was often thwarted, from personal jealousy or prejudice; and at the time when vigour and promptitude were necessary, he found them as timid and indecisive as the deputies. From Athlone, in particular, he experienced constant opposition, though cloaked with the affectation of deference. Indeed it would have been difficult to unite two commanders more discordant in character:

* Several plans and reports, still extant in the Marlborough Papers, prove the anxiety and circumspection with which the operations of the campaign were arranged.

Marlborough active, enterprising, and decisive; Athlone naturally cold and circumspect, and rendered still more unaccommodating and captious, by the effects of age and jealousy. From these observations it will be easy to conceive the embarrassments which Marlborough was destined to encounter, the mortifications he endured, the obstructions against which he sometimes struggled in vain, and the frequent and favourable opportunities of which he was unable to profit.

Kayserswerth having surrendered on the 15th of June, Marlborough drew to the Waal the 8,000 german auxiliaries employed in the siege, summoned the english from Breda, collected reinforcements from other quarters, and in the course of a few days was at the head of 60,000 men. It was now necessary to decide on the plan of operations; and Marlborough was extremely anxious to cross the Meuse, and make his intended movement towards Brabant.* He had even fixed on the 8th of July, as the day of the passage; but he was unable to obtain the concurrence of the dutch generals, or indeed to extort from them an unanimous resolution on any of the proposed plans. He was therefore obliged to hold a council of war, in order to examine the three projects of operation. The proposed attack of the french army was immediately rejected, on account of their strong position. The operation on the Rhine was referred to the decision of the states, and on the irruption into Brabant, no resolution was taken. A new council was therefore assembled by Athlone, in the afternoon, for the purpose of obtaining the opinions of such generals as had been absent in the morning. The question being put, whether a corps of 24 battalions and as many squadrons, to be left on the Waal, under the command of the baron de Heyden, was sufficient for the protection of the frontier, the majority decided in the affirmative, a few expressing their apprehensions, and one declining to give an opinion, as unacquainted with the country.† This

* Letter from Gueldermalsen, one of the field deputies.

† Lettre officielle de Nimegue.

diversity of sentiment induced Athlone to appeal to the government for instructions, while Marlborough dispatched Gueldermalsen to the Hague, to press the adoption of one of the two plans, which had not been absolutely rejected. From his correspondence, we find that he remained several days in this irksome uncertainty, and thus irretrievably lost a portion of valuable time.

While he was combating the timid objections of the dutch government, and the scruples of their generals, he was involved in one of the difficulties, which are incident to a command over troops of different nations. At the moment when he had extorted the sanction of the states, the hanoverian general arrived at the camp, to announce that his men could not march without the orders of Bothmar, the minister at the Hague. This unexpected suspense was peculiarly mortifying; for without them the army was too weak to make the intended movement. Marlborough accordingly summoned Bothmar to the camp, and at length obtained his consent for the junction of the hanoverian forces. In the interval he laboured to procure some modification of the demands on which the refusal was grounded: these were, that the troops should not take the oath to the queen; that they should return before the 5th of November; and finally that they should not be led across the Meuse. "The two first," he observes in a letter to Godolphin, dated June 29, "are not worth disputing; for they assure me it shall be in my power to keep them; but I think we were almost as good to be without them as to agree to the last. Our misfortune is, that if we have not these troops, we shall not have strength to act. By these difficulties you may see the great disadvantages a confederate army has."

The hanoverians having at length joined the army, the matter was referred to the elector, and no farther objection occurred during the campaign.

A similar difficulty arose with regard to the prussians; but Marlborough satisfied the king, by renewing the engagement that the queen should allow him the ceremonial, usually enjoyed by crowned heads.

After a delay of fourteen days, he obtained permission

to make a movement in advance; and the army accordingly traversed the Waal, on the 7th of July, and encamped on the Mookerheyde, the head quarters being established at Duckenburg.* Three bridges were the same day thrown over the Meuse below Grave, and the commander crossed the river to reconnoitre the ground beyond. In a letter to Godolphin, dated Duckenburg, July 13, he says:

“ I am ashamed to write from this camp, for we ought to have marched from hence three or four days ago; but the fears the dutch have for Nimeguen and the Rhine, created such difficulties when we were to take a resolution, that we were forced to send to the Hague, and the states would not come to any resolution, but have made it more difficult, by leaving it to the general officers, at the same time recommending, in the first place, the safety of the Rhine and Nimeguen. However, we came last night to a resolution of marching to-morrow, and passing the Meuse a little below Grave. Accordingly we have this day made three bridges over the said river. The intention is, that we should keep ourselves masters of those bridges, and that as soon as the battering pieces can be got to Nimeguen, which we hope may be in eight days, then to pass the Meuse, and march to the siege of Rheinberg. The reason of our passing the Meuse to morrow is, in hopes it may in some degree alarm the french, and hinder us from eating up that part of the country, which must be our subsistence during the siege. It is hoped this might be a secret, but I am afraid they have too good intelligence, and then they may act so as that we may be obliged to take new measures. If the fear of Nimeguen and the Rhine had not hindered us from marching into Brabant, they must then have had the disadvantage of governing themselves by our motions, whereas we are now obliged to mind them.

“ I am obliged to you for the compliment you make me for the station I am now in. It would have been a great deal more

* A country seat belonging to the counts of Schulemberg, S. W. of Nimeguen.

agreeable to me, if it could have been without disputes, and a little less trouble, but patience will overcome all things."

Having surveyed the ground beyond the Meuse, Marlborough returned to the camp, and on the 16th the army was posted between Homen and Wichem, with the Meuse in the rear, and the head quarters at Over-Asselt, within two leagues of the enemy, who still retained their position at Goch and Genep. Here he remained several days in the same state of uncertainty, as we find from his correspondence.

To his countess he writes, July 17:

"We have now very hot weather, which I hope will ripen the fruit at St. Alban's. When you are there, pray think how happy I should be walking alone with you. No ambition can make me amends for being from you. If it were not impertinent, I should desire you in every letter to give my humble duty to the queen, for I do serve her with all my heart and soul. I am on horseback or answering letters all day long; for besides the business of the army, I have letters from the Hague, and all places where her majesty has any ministers. So that if it were not for my zeal for her service, I should certainly desert, for you know of all things I do not love writing."

To lord Godolphin, July 20:

"I am afraid of giving you any trouble, knowing you have but little time to yourself. However, I cannot forbear sending you a copy of a letter I received last night from Gueldermalsen, who went to the Hague, to hasten every thing for the siege of Rheinberg, which by his letter I am afraid will not be made. And should we follow what he thinks to be best, I think the french may have it in their power to beat us. But to comply as far as I can, I have this night proposed to them the leaving twenty squadrons of horse, and eighteen battalions of foot, to entrench themselves before Nimeguen, and to pass the Meuse with the rest of the army, or to march with the whole towards Cleves, in order to get between Venloo and the french, if possible, so as to be able to attack them. The fear the states have of Nimeguen and the passage of the Rhine, hinders the advantage of having the superiority."

CHAPTER 12.

1702.

Marlborough crosses the Meuse and advances to Hamont—Movements of the two armies—The dutch deputies oppose the wishes of Marlborough to attack the enemy—Attempt of the french to intercept his communications—Frustrated—Again prevented from risking a battle—Indignation and disappointment of the army—Capture of Venloo, Ruremond and Stevenswaert—Reduction of Liege—Winter quarters.

AT length Marlborough soothed the fears of the dutch government, and obtained full powers to execute his own plan. To the dutch deputies who attended him on a reconnoitring party, he pointed out the camp of the enemy, and exultingly exclaimed, "I shall soon deliver you from these troublesome neighbours!" Accordingly the confederate army crossed the Meuse on the 26th of July, and encamped with the right at Uden and the left at Zeeland. On the 27th they again advanced, establishing their right near Nunen and their left at Leyshout; the 28th they were posted between Geldorp and Mierle, and on the 30th approached Hamont.

These decisive operations, as Marlborough had predicted, drew the french from their position. On the first intelligence that he had crossed the Meuse, they suddenly decamped in the evening, traversed the river in several columns at Venloo and Ruremond, and hastened by forced marches in the direction of Peer and Bray.

Apprized of these movements, Marlborough announced to Godolphin his design of crossing the line of their march, and endeavouring to place himself between them and the Demer. He expressed also the fullest persuasion that he should draw them

entirely from the Meuse, and not only be enabled to besiege Venloo, but to subsist in their territory, during the remainder of the campaign. He adds, "Our marches have already had the desired effect, which was, their repassing the Meuse, which had we done sooner, would have been much better. If they would venture any thing this summer, it ought to be this day; for our march is upon an open heath, and we are weaker by sixteen regiments of foot than we shall be three days hence. I am just getting on horseback to begin the march. My letter is dated from the place where we are to camp this night. The french are nearer to it than we, but I do not think they will venture. But by this march they must own that we do not avoid meeting them."*

At Hamont Marlborough was joined by three english regiments of dragoons, with the train of artillery, and two battalions of Swiss. On the 31st a new reinforcement of nine battalions and six squadrons arrived from Nimeguen, being part of the corps left under general Heukelom for the defence of the frontier. The same day Marlborough extended his right to St. Hubert's Lill, where he established his head quarters. He had scarcely entered his new position, before reports arrived that the enemy were again in motion. With his characteristic vigilance, he instantly mounted his horse, and spent twelve hours in reconnoitring the ground, and obtaining intelligence of their march. While he remained in this position, the castle of Gravenbrock, which was held by a small french garrison, was compelled to surrender by a detachment under lord Cutts. His correspondence shews the eagerness with which he watched for an opportunity of bringing the enemy to an engagement.

"I believe," he observes, "the enemy will not encamp where they are, which is not far from Bray, but will this night march on towards the Demer, for though count Tallard has joined them, I believe they will not care to venture, at least till they have the troops which are with M. Bedmar, and even then I question

* Camp near Hamont, July 19-30, 1702.

whether they will be stronger than we, for in two or three days it will be in our power to draw out eight regiments of foot and five squadrons of horse, from Maestricht. Four deserters are just come in, that assure me the french army will encamp this night at Bray. If it be true, we shall be moving to-morrow morning early. I have several parties out, so that some will bring news. I thought I should not have been able to have writ so much, my head aching extremely. The minute I seal this I shall go to bed.”*

On the 2nd of August Marlborough again prolonged his march, by bringing his left to St. Hubert's Lill, and stretching his right to Little Bruegel, where he established his head quarters. At the same time the enemy continued their hasty progress, and took post between Peer and Bray. As Marlborough calculated that they would direct their march through Sonhoven to Beringhen, he proposed to attack them, either in their passage over the heaths beyond Bray, or in their camp at Sonhoven, which was so ill chosen as to render defeat inevitable.† But according to the information of Berwick, who was present, they were saved by the timidity of the dutch deputies, who refused their assent. Thus favoured, the french succeeded in reaching Beringhen unmolested, on the 5th of August, and the same day the confederate army established itself in the rear of Peer, with the right on the Dommel and the left at Erlicum.

Marlborough had thus compelled the enemy to abandon the course of the Meuse, and leave him at liberty to prosecute his designs against the fortresses on that river. While preparations were making for the siege of Venloo, he employed detachments to destroy the fortifications of Peer and Bray, which lay in the line of his communications. Here he was joined by ten battalions, and

* To lord Godolphin, camp of St. Hubert's Lill, July 20-31, 1702.

† “Monsieur de Marlborough proposa de marcher à nous, en passant le défilé de Peer, moyennant quoi la bataille étoit inévitable sur les bruyeres; mais les députés des états généraux, n'y voulurent jamais consentir, non plus qu'à nous attaquer dans notre camp de Sonoven; ce qui fut heureux pour nous, car nous étions postés de manière que nous aurions été battus sans pouvoir nous remuer, notre gauche étant en l'air, et notre droite enfoncée dans un cul-de-sac entre deux ruisseaux.” *Memoires de Berwick*, t. 1, p. 187.

several squadrons, with a small train of artillery, from Maestricht, the garrison of which was disengaged by his advance.

With a view to ulterior operations, he prepared to pass the Dommel; but the french commanders, for the purpose of threatening his communications, broke up from Beringhen on the 9th, and marching by Moll and Bergueick to Rythoven, detached Berwick on the 12th to Eyndhoven, to cut off a valuable convoy which had been long expected from Bois le Duc. This movement obliged Marlborough to make a retrograde march on the 12th to Everbeek,* from whence he detached a strong corps, under count Tilly, for the protection of the convoy. Here he remained several days in great anxiety, and his letters are filled with complaints of the want of concert among his subordinate officers, the obstacles raised to his designs, and the tardiness of the preparations for the siege of Venloo. As the movement of the enemy had prevented the attack on Weert, a second detachment was now charged with its reduction, and a body of ten battalions and seven squadrons was sent to commence operations against Venloo. Arrangements were also made to draw the supply of bread for the army from Maestricht.†

At length the convoy, which had engrossed the attention of both armies, arrived from Bois le Duc. It traversed the heath near Geldorp, within sight of the french detachment; and although the necessary precautions appear to have been neglected, by the officers to whose care it was committed, the french commander was deterred by the main army from making any attempt to interrupt its march.‡ It therefore proceeded behind the line of the Aa, halted on the 19th at Leen or Linden, and on the 20th reached the camp in safety.

As the preparations for the siege of Venloo were not yet matured, Marlborough resolved to march towards Diest, with the view of interrupting the convoys of the enemy, or compelling them

* A castle about two english miles north of Hamont.

† Correspondence from Everbeek, August 3-14 to August 10-17, 1702.

‡ Marlborough to Godolphin, Everbeek, Aug, 10-21. Memoires de Berwick, t. 1. p.

to withdraw from the district of Bois le Duc. He therefore advanced on the 22nd to Great Bruegel, and the following day established his camp, with the right in front of Helchteren, and the left of Honthalen. This movement alarmed the french commanders; but they appear to have been unacquainted with his precise line of march, for he had scarcely taken up his ground before their army was descried emerging from the defiles before, Hochtcl. The disorder visible among their columns, particularly on the left, which was entangled amidst ponds and marshes, afforded the opportunity Marlborough had long desired of risking an engagement. He instantly put his own troops in motion, and gave orders for the rest of the army to advance, and about three in the afternoon approached so near the enemy, that a cannonade was opened on both sides. But he was again disappointed, his orders being so slowly and reluctantly obeyed that evening prevented an attack. On the ensuing day the two armies still continued in presence; but in the night the french silently decamped. On the 28th they fell back to Moll and Balen, and on the 29th to Beverloo; and thus effected their retreat with no other detriment than a few casualties during the cannonade, and a trifling loss by an attack on their rear guard. In relating this incident to Godolphin, Marlborough expresses the utmost chagrin and disappointment.

“ Helchteren, Aug. 16-27, 1702. ”

“ The inclosed letter to the states will let you see the account I have given of the two days being in presence of the enemy. I have but too much reason to complain, that the ten thousand men upon our right did not march as soon as I sent the orders, which if they had, I believe we should have had a very easy victory, for their whole left was in disorder. However I have thought it much for her majesty's service to take no notice of it, as you see by my letter to the states. But my lord Rivers and almost all the general officers of the right, were with me, when I sent the orders, so that notwithstanding the care I take to hinder it, they do talk. I could not believe the french were so strong as we now know they are; for my lord Carr, one of my

aides de camp, was taken, so that he marched with them the day they retreated, and the duke of Berwick shewed him the whole army. He counted 72 battalions and 109 squadrons, but he says that our battalions are much stronger than theirs.

“ Venloo will be invested to-morrow, and I have pressed the pensioner that if we have good success there, the states might give such timely order for the stores, that we might have it in our power to attack Ruremond, if the season be favourable.

“ I am in so ill humour that I will not trouble you, nor dare I trust myself to write more; but believe this truth, that I honour and love you, my lady Marlborough, and my children, and would die for the queen.”

The disappointment which Marlborough so deeply lamented, created considerable uneasiness. The troops having discovered that the marshes between the two armies were passable, expressed their dissatisfaction that the advice of the commander had not been adopted, and loudly clamoured against the conduct of the deputies; and it was not without difficulty that Marlborough restrained this spirit of discontent, which spread even to the officers. He did not, however, himself escape the censure of those who were ignorant, or affected to be ignorant of the restrictions under which he laboured. The discontented party in England complained that the enemy had been suffered to escape, and now first raised the malicious clamour, which was afterwards propagated with such effect, that he was seeking to prolong the war for the gratification of his own personal interest. He bore these aspersions with patience, and from delicacy towards the states refrained from any public vindication of his conduct.

One good effect, however, resulted from the timidity of the dutch deputies and generals. The troops were thus inspired with additional confidence in their commander, and burned with impatience to retrieve the glorious opportunities which had been neglected.

Considerable detachments having been drawn from the french army to the Upper Rhine, the enemy relinquished their hopes of resuming offensive operations. The duke of Burgundy quitted

the camp to avoid the dishonour of witnessing the reduction of the fortresses on the Meuse, and left the command to Boufflers.

On the 29th of August Marlborough decamped from Helchteren, crossed the heath of Donderslag, and took up a new position with his right at Asch and his left at Gurk, to cover the intended sieges, and facilitate the passage of supplies from Maestrecht. Venloo was first invested on the 5th of September, but he could not overcome the dilatory and negligent spirit of the dutch government in providing the means of attack. He had also the additional mortification of being embarrassed by contentions which arose between Cohorn, the celebrated engineer, and some of the dutch generals. "I thank God," he writes to Godolphin, "we have now the finest weather that can be desired, which makes me very impatient to hear of the cannon being arrived at Venloo, which place was invested last Monday; but they can make no great progress till they have their artillery. England, that is famous for negligence, should any they employ be guilty of half what I see here, it would be impossible for them to avoid being justly torn to pieces by the parliament."*

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Asch, August 27, Sept. 7, 1702.

"They make so many difficulties at the siege of Venloo, that tomorrow there go from this army five battalions and five squadrons, notwithstanding we have notice that the business of Flanders is over, and that their detachment will join them this day. And it is said that part of the troops with the marquis of Bedmar have also orders to join the army. I have also intelligence from Venloo, that orders are come there for the baking of bread for the army. If all this be true, I shall be of your mind, that they will attempt something. If so, pray God give us success, and the sooner they attempt the better, their army being much sicker than ours. If they come to us now, we shall have 15 battalions and 28

* Marlborough to Godolphin, camp at Asche, Aug. 20, Sept. 2, 1702.

squadrons less than we had, when we were last in presence with them. However our men are in so good heart, that I dare say we shall beat them."

Though unable to prevent the reduction of the fortresses, Boufflers made a movement, in hopes of some favourable opportunity to obstruct the confederates in their operations. On the 10th of September he marched to Beringhen, passed the Demer on the ensuing day, and on the 13th established his camp between Tongres and Borchloen, fixing his head quarters at Bedoe. As the rapid advance of Marlborough appeared to threaten the fortresses on the Rhine, Tallard was detached with 17 battalions and 25 squadrons, to favour the retreat of the elector of Cologne from Bonn, and throw a garrison into the place. He also forced the city of Cologne to conclude a treaty of neutrality, and directing his march towards the Moselle, took measures for the security of Luxemburg, Treves, and Traerbach.*

Meanwhile the requisite preparations being matured, the investment of Venloo was completed; 32 battalions, and 36 squadrons were detached for the siege, under the command of the prince of Nassau Saarbruck; and on the 7th of September the attacks were opened on both sides of the Meuse, under the direction of Cohorn. To cover the operation, as well as to facilitate the passage of the convoys, and to draw forage from Spanish Guelderland, Marlborough on the 13th took up a new position, with his right at Sutendal, and his left at Lonaken.†

The trenches having been rapidly pushed forward, the first attack was directed on the 18th of September against Fort St. Michael, which was connected with the place by a bridge of boats across the Meuse, and formed its principal defence. The assault of this work was intrusted to a detachment under lord Cutts, consisting principally of english troops, and was executed with unusual spirit and success. The commander led his men to the

* Memoires de Berwick, t. 1, p. 197.

† Marlborough to lord Godolphin, Sutendal, Sept. 3-14, 1702.

attack, accompanied by lord Lorne, Mr. Dalrymple, Sir Richard Temple, and other distinguished volunteers. Mingling with the troops, they stormed the covert way, and carried the ravelin sword in hand, notwithstanding the explosion of a mine. The earl of Huntingdon, unable, from a weak state of health, to make the same exertions, as his gallant comrades, gave money to the soldiers to assist him in scaling the breastwork. Encouraged by their success, the victorious assailants forced their way over a bridge, connecting the ravelin with the interior works, and carried the fort itself by storm. Of the garrison 200 were made prisoners, and the remainder, amounting to 600, were either killed in the conflict, or drowned in attempting to cross the Meuse.*

The attack against the town was prosecuted with additional vigour and effect. Batteries were raised in the captured fort, and on the 23rd of September, a tremendous fire of artillery was opened on the defences of the place. Before mid-day, an accessible breach being effected, the garrison were discouraged, and the burghers clamoured for a surrender. At this moment the news of the reduction of Landau reached the camp, and was announced by a volley of artillery. The first salute being considered by the enemy as the signal of assault, a flag of truce was instantly displayed, but remained unnoticed by the besiegers, whose attention was occupied with their own rejoicings. On the second discharge, the fears of the besieged being increased, white flags were hoisted on every part of the works. The signal was at length acknowledged, a capitulation arranged, and before the close of the day, the garrison quitting the breach with the honours of war, were conducted to Antwerp.

While Marlborough was engaged in superintending the siege of Venloo, he received intimation from the british cabinet that a negotiation was opened with the elector of Bavaria; and certain articles were transmitted by the secretary of state, which seemed

* Letter from lord Cutts, communicating the result of the attack. History of Europe for 1702, p. 353.

to indicate a successful issue. Marlborough was instructed to open a private communication with the pensionary, and obtain his consent to the terms which the english cabinet were disposed to grant. But before the intelligence reached him, the overture proved delusive. On the 8th of September, the elector occupied Ulm and other posts, requisite to open a communication with the french army on the Rhine, and immediately declared in favour of the house of Bourbon.*

Stimulated to greater exertion by the capture of Venloo, the british commander ordered the troops who had reduced the place to advance up the Meuse, and on the 29th of September, Stevenswaert and Ruremond, two fortresses between Venloo and Maestricht, were at once invested. The same difficulties and delays occurred as in the preceding siege; but the energy of Marlborough was not to be checked by the negligence of the dutch officers, or by the scruples of Cohorn, whom Gueldermalsen justly termed "the general of difficulties." In a letter to Godolphin, Marlborough indicates his ulterior views.

"Sutendal, Sept. 17-28, 1702.

"The very ill weather gives but too reasonable an excuse that the sieges do not go so fast as could be wished. However, I think there is no doubt but we shall have them. That of Stevenswaert, I hope we shall have by the beginning of the next week; and as soon as we have those troops again with us, I shall do my utmost with the deputies and my lord of Athlone, that we may march between Liege and Tongres, which will oblige the marshal Boufflers to take his party off defending Tongres, or retreating behind his lines. I think he will do the last, but my lord of Athlone is of another opinion; so that he would stay till the siege of Ruremond is over, that those troops might also join us. My fears are, that if we stay till that siege be finished, the ways will be so very ill that we shall not be able to carry our cannon with us, and then I am sure what we call our left wing will not go, for they begin to say that

* Correspondence of Marlborough from Sutendal, Sept. 7-18, to Sept. 14-25.

they ought to be contented with what has already been done. If the french be not obliged to quit Tongres, they will have it in their power to bombard Maestricht any time this winter, besides it will give them the advantage of quartering a very great body of troops on this side of their lines."

Stevenswaert being provided with a garrison of only 400 men, made but a faint defence, and was surrendered after a siege of five days, on the 5th of October. The resistance of Ruremond was scarcely more obstinate. The attacks were opened on the 2nd of October, by the prussians on one side of the river, and the english on the other. The batteries began to play on the 6th, the besieged beat a parley the same afternoon, and on the ensuing day the garrison capitulated, and were conducted to Louvain.

A letter from Mr. Cardonnel to secretary Harley, shews the indefatigable activity of the generalissimo, and the obstructions with which he had to contend.

After noticing the capture of Stevenswaert, he adds. "I hope in my next to send you the like good news of Ruremond, where we reckon Mr. Cohorn is more nice than wise. He is losing time there as he did before Venloo, and will not begin till he has every thing ready to a tittle, though half the preparations might do the business; for we reckon Stevenswaert must be the strongest of the two. However, we question not but we shall be masters of the place in three or four days after we begin. And all this good fortune I may venture to say is owing, under God, to my lord Marlborough's conduct. For if his excellency had not been very firm in his resolutions, not only against the dutch generals, but even the states themselves, the alarm in Flanders would have carried good part of our troops that way, and entirely defeated our designs upon the Maes this campaign. This the dutch begin to own freely, with a good deal of applause to his excellency."*

In the midst of these operations the army of the empire, under the command of Joseph, the young king of the Romans, had re-

* Camp at Sutendal, Oct. 21, 1702—State Paper Office.

sumed the offensive; and after an arduous struggle, on the 11th of September reduced Landau, which was regarded as an outwork of Alsace. This loss obliged the french still farther to reduce their army in the Netherlands, and encouraged Marlborough to prosecute his success. He extorted the consent of the states to attempt the reduction of Liege, which commanded the navigation of the Meuse above Maestricht. This enterprise he executed with his usual diligence and success. Apprised that Boufflers had examined the defences of the place, and was preparing to post himself under the walls, he suddenly broke up his camp, and marched with such celerity as to anticipate the enemy on the very ground which they intended to occupy. So secret and well combined was this movement, that the french commander approached within cannon shot of the confederates, before he was conscious of his danger. His defeat would have been inevitable, had not the caution of the dutch deputies again become his safeguard. Taking advantage of the night, he on the 13th made a precipitate retreat to Orp-le-petit, and placed his camp between Lannuye and Landen.* The city having opened its gates on the approach of the confederate army, preparations were instantly made to reduce the citadel, into which the french garrison had retired. On the 20th of October the batteries were opened, and on the 23rd a breach was effected, and the approaches were sufficiently advanced for an attack on the covert way. In giving an account of the success to lord Godolphin, he says:

“ I writ to you this morning in haste, and gave you an account that the counterscarp of the citadel was to be attacked, which was done this afternoon. After the french were beaten out of the counterscarp, our men attacked the breach, and after a resistance of half an hour they carried it. The governor was taken in the breach by an english lieutenant, which shews that the queen's subjects were the first upon the breach. This has been an action of much vigour, so that it is impossible to say too much of the bravery that was shewn by all the officers and soldiers. The governor and great numbers of their officers are already brought to my quarters.” †

* Ledyard, v. 1, p. 186.

† Camp before Liege, Oct, 12-23, eight at night.

Preparations were next made to attack the Chartreuse, a detached work on the opposite bank of the Meuse. But the garrison, being too much discouraged by the fate of their companions in the citadel to abide the consequences of an assault, surrendered Oct. 29, on the first fire from the batteries.

On this event the french retiring within their lines took up a position behind the Mehaigne, between Boneffe and the Josse. But as the season was too far advanced for ulterior operations, after the fatigues of the campaign, Marlborough distributed his troops into winter quarters, and prepared to return to England, where his presence was anxiously expected.*

* For the account of this campaign I have consulted and compared—Correspondence of the duke of Marlborough—Plans of the campaign—Letters from Gueldermalsen, the dutch deputy—Official letters and documents in the gazette—Life of Marlborough, p. 38—44—Ledyard, p. 132—212—Histoire du duc de Marlborough, t. 1, p. 127—181. Broderic's History of the war in the Netherlands, v. 1, p. 13 to 55—Military History of Eugene and Marlborough, v. 1, p. 99—107.—History of Europe for 1702—Memoires de Berwick, ad annum 1702—Targe Histoire de l'Avenement de la maison de Bourbon, tom. 2, chap. 5.

CHAPTER 13.

1702.

Passage of Marlborough down the Meuse—Captured by a french party—His extraordinary escape—Arrival and reception at the Hague—Remarks on the unfortunate expedition to Cadiz.

WHILE the british people were anxiously expecting the close of the campaign, they were on the point of losing the great commander who had raised their hopes and spread the glory of their arms. On the 3rd of November he quitted Maestricht for the Hague, and with the dutch deputies descended the Meuse in a boat, accompanied by a guard of twenty five men. At Ruremond he was joined on the following day by Cohorn, in a larger boat with sixty men, and an additional escort of fifty troopers attended them along the banks of the river. Such a force seemed fully sufficient to protect them against any enterprise from the french posts and garrisons in the vicinity; but in the night the horsemen lost their way, the larger boat out sailed the other, and Marlborough was left with only his slender guard of twenty-five men.

In this situation the boat was surprised by a French partisan from Guelder, who, with thirty-five men, was lurking among the reeds and sedge. They suddenly seized the tow-rope, poured a volley into the boat, and rushing on board, overpowered the guard.

The dutch deputies were furnished with french passes, but Marlborough had thought it degrading to solicit such a safeguard. The coolness and presence of mind, which never deserted him in the field, were, however, no less conspicuous in this inglorious yet

imminent peril. One of his attendants* who had fortunately preserved a french pass granted to his brother, general Churchill, when obliged to quit the army from ill health, slipped it unperceived into his hand. Though aware that the date had expired, and that the most trifling scrutiny would detect the deception, he presented it to his captors with undisturbed confidence. His unruffled deportment, the darkness of the night, and the confusion of the moment, prevented a discovery. The adventurers after pillaging the vessel, and extorting the customary presents, retained the escort as prisoners, and suffered Marlborough and his fellow travellers to proceed.

In an instant the disastrous tidings were spread that the general had fallen into the hands of the enemy; and the governor of Venloo led his garrison to Guelder, whither he supposed the illustrious captive had been conveyed, determined to effect his rescue, or perish in the attempt. At the Hague also the intelligence excited the utmost consternation. The states, who were then assembled, passed a vote by acclamation, enjoining all their troops to march without delay, and constrain the garrison of Guelder to release their prisoner.

In the midst of the confusion and alarm, Marlborough himself appeared at the Hague. The transport of joy which burst forth on his arrival, proved the deep and general interest felt for his safety. The sedate and deliberative character of the natives was lost in the enthusiasm of exultation. Surrounded by enraptured crowds, and overwhelmed by tumultuous proofs of popular applause, Marlborough with difficulty reached the hotel destined for his reception accompanied by a cavalcade less pompous indeed, but far more gratifying than any which perhaps had ever graced the triumphal procession of a Roman general to the capitol.

* Marlborough himself has enabled us to trace the name and circumstances of his attendant. In a letter to the duchess, dated Oct. 3, 1704, he observes, "Stephen Gell whom you mention, is son to a man who was with me when I was taken. He was so far instrumental, as to give me a pass out of his pocket which I knew nothing of. The pass being for my brother, I passed for him. He has cost me £. 50 a year ever since."

His friend, pensionary Heinsius, was deputed to compliment him in the name of the states. In this address the orator expressed the sentiments, not only of his countrymen, but of every friend to public liberty. "Your captivity," he said, "was on the point of causing the slavery of these provinces, and restoring to France the power of extending her uncontrollable dominion over all Europe. No hope was left, if she retained in bondage the man whom we revere as the instrument of providence, to secure independence to the greater part of the christian world."

A letter from the commander himself shews the deep interest taken in his providential escape, and the effect which it produced on his own feelings.

LORD MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Hague, Oct. 28, 1702.

"At my arrival here, I met with three mails from England, but must beg you will excuse my giving no answer to them till the next post, being obliged to see every body that comes. My room is full at this time, I being more welcome to them by an accident I had, of being taken by a french party. Till they saw me, they thought me a prisoner in France, so that I was not ashore one minute, before I had great crowds of the common people, some endeavouring to take me by the hands, and all crying out welcome. But that which moved me most was, to see a great many of both sexes cry for joy. I have been extremely obliged by the kind reception I have met with; for from five in the afternoon till after ten at night, there was a perpetual firing in the streets, which is their way of rejoicing.

"I pray God bless the queen and her undertakings, for the liberty of christendom depends upon it. After five or six days I shall be sure to take the first fair wind."

The events of the campaign convinced Marlborough, that a considerable augmentation of troops was necessary, particularly as the french were already making strenuous efforts to open the ensuing campaign in the Netherlands. To this object he therefore directed

the earliest attention, and during his stay at the Hague, employed every argument to stimulate the zeal of his friend Godolphin.

THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ *Peregrine Galley, Nov. 21, 1702.*

“ I have had your's of the 17th, and what the dutch ambassadors have said to her majesty concerning the augmentation of her troops, was directed by the states before my arrival at the Hague, so that I can't imagine how they came to be so late in the delivering of it. But that which gives me trouble in this matter is, that you think it very difficult to obtain any more troops for this next year; for I think the whole success of this war depends upon our having a superiority this next campaign. The dutch are at this time so alarmed at the preparations that are making in France, that they are very desirous of joining with England for the hiring of troops, as you will see by the enclosed copy of their letter to their ambassadors for her majesty; for they are fully persuaded, that if the french have the superiority, which they must have, if we do not augment, the next campaign may prove fatal. The count de Berguieck* in Flanders, has already prepared a project for the augmenting the 24,000 men they pay, to 40,000; every town and village being obliged to send their proportion of men, so that those troops are to be completed by the 15th of February. The same methods are taking in France, which has very much frightened this country. By your letter, I can see but one way of preventing what is thought here a certain ruin, and that is, that in the appropriating clauses it may be left in her majesty's power to apply the money of 5,000 seamen to this service, which will enable her to pay 10,000 landmen more; the dutch doing the same, will make an augmentation of 20,000 men; tho' at the same time I must let you know that the alarm here is so great, that they think less than thirty will not do. I am very much convinced that the french will next year venture a battle, at the beginning of the campaign; so that we must expect that they will be as strong as they can in these

* Spanish governor of the Netherlands.

parts, at least in the beginning of the year, for they will have nothing to apprehend upon the Rhine till the month of July ; and if the emperor can't force the elector of Bavaria this winter to quit the french interest, I believe it will be impossible to strengthen prince Eugene's army, so as to put him in a condition of acting offensively."

In closing our narrative of military transactions, we cannot neglect to render justice to the candour and liberality of Athlone. The veteran general, instead of indulging that jealousy, which too often rankles in less noble minds, seized an early opportunity to acknowledge his own errors, and applaud the merits of his illustrious colleague. "The success of this campaign," he said, "is solely due to this incomparable chief, since I confess that I, serving as second in command, opposed in all circumstances his opinion and proposals." No panegyric can equal this candid avowal. It is alike honourable to the general by whom it was made, and to him whom no obstructions could divert from the accomplishment of his beneficial designs.

A plan for the reduction of Cadiz had been formed by William, and the scheme was approved, and promoted by Marlborough among his friends in the ministry. Of this enterprise the detail belongs not to our history. It is sufficient to observe, that by a series of singular mismanagements, the scheme was frustrated, and that the spanish people, whom it was the interest of the allies to conciliate, were rendered inveterately hostile against the english and dutch, by the excesses and misconduct of the troops.

From the ill success of this attempt, the commanders of the expedition were induced to undertake an attack against Vigo, where a rich flota from America had taken refuge. By accident rather than skill, they succeeded in forcing their way into the harbour. But the plunder did not answer their expectations, or compensate for the charges of the armament ; for the flota was destroyed in the conflict, and the principal part of the cargoes either sunk, or conveyed into the interior.

This partial success, therefore, did not weaken the sense of shame for the disgrace before Cadiz. The duke of Ormond and

Sir George Rooke, commanders of the army and fleet, accused each other for their failure, and the animosity of both parties proved their resolution to make the conduct and result of the expedition a subject of parliamentary inquiry.

Marlborough was aware that such an investigation could neither remedy the past, nor produce advantage for the future; while he was conscious that it would give rise to party feuds, which could not fail to prove highly detrimental to the common cause in general, and to England in particular. He therefore laboured to soothe the irritation of the respective chiefs, and by his correspondence with lord Godolphin, endeavoured to prevent the effects of an ill-timed appeal to the public.

“ Nov. 21, 1702. My letters tell me that the duke of Ormond is governed by people that will incline him to accuse Sir George Rooke. By what I am told here, I should think it would be more for his grace's service, and all the rest of the officers, that the conduct at Cadiz should not be inquired into; for what can be said for staying 26 days at Port St. Mary; for if Cadiz was to be attacked, they should not have staid there; and if the taking of Cadiz was not thought feasible, then they should not have lost time, but have reimbarked, to have attempted what was in their instructions. I forget that I am in a very idle place, and you, where you have little time to yourself, so that I must give you no farther trouble, but beg my most humble duty may be given to her majesty and the prince.”

The contending chiefs appear to have been swayed by the prudent admonitions of Marlborough. They desisted from their mutual accusations; and the public, overlooking their failure at Cadiz, acknowledged their unexpected success at Vigo, with higher applause than it deserved. The scandalous disorders which marked the conduct of the troops, were no otherwise punished, than by the removal of a few officers, whose neglect of discipline had been too notorious to be treated with indulgence.

CHAPTER 14.

1702.

Return of the earl of Marlborough to England—Addressed by both houses on his success—The queen confers on him a dukedom, with a pension of £.5,000 a year from the post-office—The proposal to unite this grant with the title rejected by the commons—Marlborough supports the grant of a settlement to the prince of Denmark—His chagrin at the opposition it encountered from the whigs, particularly his son in law, lord Sunderland—Supports the bill against occasional conformity.

BEFORE the return of Marlborough to England, the queen had summoned a new parliament. The tories, by the influence of the crown and their own exertions, secured a considerable majority; Harley was rechosen speaker, without opposition, and the decisions of contested elections unequivocally manifested their ascendancy.

It was natural that a parliament so constituted should not be sparing in its praise of a general, who had hitherto distinguished himself by his attachment to tory principles. Yet the intrinsic value of his exploits was not so much regarded, as the contrast they presented to the less fortunate operations of king William. In the address of the commons, this sentiment was shewn by the expression, "The wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of the earl of Marlborough, has signally *retrieved* the antient honour of this nation." The whigs made a vigorous effort to change this invidious term, but after a warm debate, they lost their amendment by a majority of an hundred voices.

As if to humble the commander, who had contravened their darling principles of foreign policy, they coupled his exploits with the trifling success at Vigo, by distinguishing the duke of Ormond

and Sir George Rooke, with similar testimonies of approbation. The public joy was testified by a thanksgiving at St. Paul's, which was attended by the queen and both houses of parliament. The general applause which the exploits of Marlborough awakened, favoured the intention which the queen had conceived before his return from the continent, of raising him to the highest rank which a subject can attain; and the votes of thanks from both houses, which he received on his arrival, gave her reason to hope that no opposition would be made, to the rewards which she designed to confer on a commander who had deserved so well of his country.

It has been generally imagined that the ducal title, with which Marlborough was soon afterwards honoured, was obtained solely by the influence of his countess. This was, however, on the contrary, the spontaneous act of the queen, suggested by the warmest sentiments of friendship and gratitude, and offered with the most flattering delicacy.

Lord Godolphin was first apprised of the queen's intention, and in forwarding to the countess the address of the house of lords, he observed, "I am apt to think Mrs. Morley may have something to say to you upon this subject, which perhaps you may not like, but I think it should be endured on such an occasion, when it is visible to the whole world that it is not done upon your own account."

Before the countess could reply, a letter arrived from the queen. After some affectionate expressions on her absence, she added:

"Lord treasurer intends to send you a copy of the address of the house of lords, which is to be given me to-morrow, and that gives me an opportunity of mentioning a thing to you that I did not intend to do yet. It is very uneasy to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, to think that she has so very little in her power to shew how truly sensible I am of all my lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give. But since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave as soon as he comes, to make him a duke. I know my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for any thing of that kind, nor am I satisfied with it, because it does not enough

express the value I have for Mr. Freeman, nor nothing ever can, how passionately I am yours my dear Mrs. Freeman.”*

The reply of the countess to so kind and flattering a proposal is not preserved; but her sentiments on the subject are fully expressed in a letter afterwards written to one of her friends.

“I believe,” she says, “there are very few in the world that did not think me very much pleased with the increase of honour the queen gave lord Marlborough when he commanded the army at her coming to the crown; and perhaps it is so ridiculous, at least what so few people will believe, that I would not mention it but to those that I could shew the original letters to. If there be any truth in a mortal it was so uneasy to me, that when I read the letter first upon it, I let it drop out of my hand, and was for some minutes like one that had received the news of the death of one of their dear friends: I was so sorry for any thing of that kind, having before all that was of any use.

“I fear you will think what I say upon this subject is affected; and therefore I must repeat again, that it was more uneasy to me for a time than can easily be believed. I do think there is no advantage but in going in at a door; and when a rule is settled, I like as well to follow five hundred as one. And the title of duke in a family, where there are many sons, is often a great burthen. Though at that time I had myself but one, yet I might have had more, and the next generation a great many. To conclude, a higher title was not my feat, and if I saw you, I could convince you of it.”†

In these declarations she is fully supported by the correspondence yet preserved. As she persisted in declining the proffered dignity, the lord treasurer next addressed himself to the queen, and pressed her to consult the delicacy of her friend, but his expostulations were as fruitless with her majesty as with the countess.‡

* The queen to the countess of Marlborough, St. James's, Oct. 22. Conduct, p. 302, 304.

† M. S. letter in the Marlborough Papers.

‡ Letter of Godolphin, printed in the Conduct, p. 304.

Lady Marlborough, wrote in earnest terms to her husband, urging him to decline this accession of honour; and although it appears that he was not averse to so distinguished a mark of favour, her remonstrances at least suspended his decision.

“Hague, Nov. 4, 1702.

“You know,” he observes, “I am very ill at compliments, but I have a heart full of gratitude: therefore pray say all you can to the queen for her extraordinary goodness to me. As you have let me have your thoughts as to the dukedom, you shall have mine in short, since I shall have the happiness of being with you so soon, when I may advise with you more at large on this matter. But be assured that I shall have a mind to nothing, but as it may be easy to you. I do agree with you that we ought not to wish for a greater title, till we have a better estate. Your other objection is also very just, that this promotion might bring great solicitations upon the queen, which I am sure I would not give occasion for. The queen’s goodness in being desirous to establish my family, answers the first, since that may be done this winter; for I agree with you, that it should be done before the title.”

“Hague, Nov. 6, 1702.

“Since my last I have advised with the pensioner, whom I take to be very much my friend, and is believed to be a very judicious man. Having acquainted him with the queen’s intentions and your objections, I begged his friendship in letting me have his advice freely. He said a great deal to me, that is not proper for me to repeat; but in short his distinction as to the time of my taking the queen’s favour (for I insisted very much that it would be of greater advantage to my family at the end of the war than now) was, that if it were now done, it would be a justice in the queen, and do her good with all the princes abroad, especially in this country, where he hoped she would employ me as long as the war should last: he said if it were not done now in the heat of every body’s being pleased with what I had done, it would at any other time be thought the effect of favour, which would not be so great an honour to my family, nor to the queen’s service. He farther said that he could have wished the queen had given her direc-

tion whilst I had been in the army, as the king of France did to the marshal de Villars this summer. I farther urged to him the trouble it might bring upon the queen, by several families pressing to have the same title; he made me for answer, that it would not have that effect if it were done now, since it was visible to all the world it was done as a reward for the good services of this campaign, so that it could concern nobody but myself; but if it were done upon a long deliberation, those families might expect to be considered. The last thing I urged to him, and which is very true, was, that I should make a worse figure in England by being a duke than as I am, till I had an estate for it; he said the queen's kindness was such, that I need not doubt a fortune, and that whatever was done at this time, for my fortune as well as the title, would be without envy, since all the people were pleased with what I had done. He farther said to me, that it was not reasonable to expect ever to have so much success in any other campaign as in this, so that he ended in begging me, for the good of the common cause, the queen's service, and my own sake, that I would think this the proper time of being distinguished. I answered him that I did agree with him, that I thought as far as such a thing was capable, it might have a good effect on this side of the water, and that for my own honour it was undeniably the right time; but how far it might create trouble to her majesty or that my friends might think this proper for me, I could not tell, but I assured him that I would acquaint you and my lord treasurer with what he said, and that I should be governed by you two in this matter. I do beg of you that you will do me justice, that it is not my vanity that makes me think what the pensioner says is reasonable, but the thoughts I have that the queen cannot have a better time of justifying * * * *."

The solicitations of the queen and the importunities of lord Godolphin, as well as the representations of pensionary Heinsius, at length vanquished the reluctance of the countess. The earl

* The remainder of this letter is lost.

was accordingly created marquess of Blandford and duke of Marlborough, by letters patent, dated December 14, 1702. The queen, fully sensible that the property of Marlborough was insufficient to maintain so high a dignity, sent a message to the house of commons, stating that she had created him a duke, and conferred on him £. 5,000, per annum out of the post-office for her own life. She concluded with requesting the house to devise a proper mode for settling this grant on himself and his successors in the title.

Contrary to her expectation, however, the proposal occasioned violent debates; and invidious insinuations were thrown out that Marlborough was endeavouring to monopolise the royal favour and confidence. Sir Christopher Musgrave, in particular, said, he did not wish to detract from the duke's eminent services, but he must insist that they had been well rewarded. He concluded with expatiating on the profitable employments which he and his family enjoyed. In consequence of the spirit manifested by the house, the duke solicited the queen to recall her message, lest he should be the cause of obstruction to the public service. The queen accordingly communicated his request, and withdrew her application; but the predominant party did not omit to make a strong remonstrance against the proposed grant, fraught with the most acrimonious reflections on the memory of king William, and on his profusion towards his foreign favourites. This disappointment only rendered the queen more anxious to display her gratitude and esteem. The very day the remonstrance of the commons was presented, she imparted to the duchess her design of adding £. 2,000 a year out of the privy purse, to the grant of the £. 5,000 already made during her own life, from the revenue of the post-office.

“Wednesday, Dec. 16.

“I cannot be satisfied with myself, without doing something towards making up what has been so maliciously hindered in the parliament, and therefore I desire my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman would be so kind as to accept of two thousand a-year, out of the privy purse, besides the grant of the five. This can draw no envy, for nobody need know it. Not that I would disown

what I give to people that deserve, especially where it is impossible to reward the deserts, but you may keep it a secret or not as you please. I beg my dear Mrs. Freeman would never any way give me an answer to this; only comply with the desires of your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, that loves you most tenderly, and is with the sincerest passion imaginable your's."* Notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the queen, this liberal offer was respectfully but firmly declined.†

From gratitude for the kindness of the queen, Marlborough and his friends zealously exerted themselves in parliament, to promote a measure in which she was personally interested. The first wish of Anne on her accession was, to associate her husband in the regal dignity, but her design being overruled, as unconstitutional, she became more anxious to secure to him a permanent revenue. The proposal was communicated to parliament by a message, requesting the settlement of a farther provision on the prince of Denmark, in case of his survival. Mr. Howe, member for Gloucestershire, a zealous tory, moved, on the 21st of November, for a grant of £.100,000 yearly. As the tories, who formed the majority, were decidedly favourable to this measure, no opposition was made to the grant itself; but objections were urged against a clause annexed to the bill, intended to continue to the prince the offices already conferred on him during the life of the queen, by exempting him from the effect of that clause in the act of settlement by which foreigners were forbidden to hold offices of state, on the accession of the Hanover line.

After a trifling debate the bill passed the commons, but in the house of lords encountered the most violent opposition. The act itself was regarded as a money bill, and the clause as a tack which, by a standing order then recently established, the house

* The duchess has given a short extract of this letter in the Conduct, p. 295.

† This disinterestedness would be entitled to high applause, if the duchess had consistently maintained the same spirit; but in a subsequent part of these memoirs, we shall find that on her disgrace she claimed and received the whole pension for the preceding nine years.

was bound to reject. Secondly, a general objection was made to the terms of the clause, which were considered as implying that all other foreigners already naturalized, were incapacitated in the next reign, which was contrary to the intent of the act of settlement.

The friends of the queen strenuously exerted themselves, though they did not prevail without extreme difficulty, and by a majority of only one voice. A protest was signed against the clause, as a tack, by seven peers, and a second still stronger against the whole bill by twenty-eight. From the names which are recorded, the opposition seems to have principally arisen from the whigs, who regarded the bill as an infringement of the principles acknowledged at the revolution; and bishop Burnet himself, one of the protestors, conjectures, that it was captiously introduced by the tories, for the purpose of indisposing the queen against their political opponents.*

The gratitude of the queen for the exertions of Marlborough in procuring this grant, appears in one of her letters to the duchess.

"I am sure the prince's bill passing after so much struggle, is wholly owing to the pains you and Mr. Freeman have taken, and I ought to say a great deal to both of you in return, but neither words nor actions can ever express the true sense Mr. Morley and I have of your sincere kindness on this and all other occasions; and therefore I will not say any more on this subject, but that to my last moment, your dear unfortunate faithful Morley will be most passionately and tenderly yours."†

The duke and duchess of Marlborough were deeply chagrined to find among the most zealous opponents of this measure, their son-in-law, lord Sunderland, who had recently taken his seat in the house of peers, on the death of his father. He not only spoke against the grant, but signed the protests. The impetuous spirit of the duchess was peculiarly irritated by this mark of disrespect. In her zeal for the gratification of the queen, she forgot her attachment to whig principles, and it was not without the utmost diffi-

* History of His own Time, vol. 5, p. 125, 8vo.—Tindal, vol. 15, p. 440

† Marlborough Papers.

culty that her amiable daughter lady Sunderland effected a reconciliation.* This incident was among the earliest of that series of mortifications which Marlborough experienced from the party spirit of his son-in-law, and may be considered as one of the causes of the rooted antipathy which the queen fostered against lord Sunderland.

During this session of parliament, Marlborough took an active share in promoting a bill, which in appearance was calculated to add to the security of the national church, but in reality to increase the strength of the tories, by depriving the whig party of the support drawn from the moderate dissenters.

Since the passing of the corporation and test acts, in the reign of Charles the second, the antipathy against the dissenters had gradually diminished. In consequence of the zeal which they had manifested at the revolution, and the countenance they had received from William, many of the less rigid had obtained admission into corporations and offices under government, by receiving the communion, though without conforming regularly to the worship of the church of England. They naturally joined the whigs, and were zealous supporters of the war, which they deemed necessary to consolidate the revolution, and secure both civil and religious liberty. Hence they became obnoxious to the tory or high church party. Accordingly, soon after the accession of Anne, the adherents of the court evinced a strong inclination to revive the penal statutes against occasional conformity; and Marlborough interested himself so warmly in the measure, that the author of a violent pamphlet, intituled "The Case of Toleration recognised," which was intended to prepare the public mind, dedicated it to him, as a person of unsuspected zeal for the principles of the high church.

At this period the partisans of the high church deeming themselves sufficiently powerful to execute their design, a bill was introduced into the house of commons, by Bromley and St. John, for the purpose of preventing occasional conformity.

* Letter from lady Sunderland to the duchess, without date.

In the preamble persecution was disclaimed, and the principles of toleration warmly asserted; but the provisions of the act were not the less severe, and indeed were calculated to exclude all, except zealous churchmen, from every office of trust or honour. Even the privilege of freedom in corporations was taken away. As if to increase the hardship of exclusion, no time was limited for giving information against offenders, no rule laid down to define the nature of the offence, and the penalties were so severe as in many cases to threaten utter ruin.

Suspensions being entertained that the measure would be strenuously opposed in the house of lords, a proposal was made to tack the act to a money bill, as an effectual expedient to extort their acquiescence. But so dangerous an expedient being discouraged by the moderate of all parties, the lords anticipated the scheme, by passing a standing order against the reception of a money bill, if tacked to an act of a different nature.

The bill passed the commons by a large majority; but although supported in the upper house by the whole interest of the court and ministry, it was attacked with unusual vigour and perseverance. Even the bench of bishops treated it as a mere party measure, and several either spoke or voted against it. Many amendments were proposed, and some of the clauses were carried only by a single voice, though the queen so far interested herself in the measure as to induce her husband, himself, an occasional conformist, to give it his personal support.

The bill, amended or modified in many essential points, was returned to the commons. But after a long conference between the two houses, it was finally lost, by the refusal of the commons to agree in the alterations made by the lords.*

* Burnet.—Tindal, vol. 15, p. 452.—Chandler's Commons Debates, vol. 3, where there is an excellent account of this celebrated bill.—History of Europe for 1702.





John. Marquess of Blandford

From an Original Picture at Blenheim.

Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Drawn by J. Wivins — Engraved by W.^m Bond.

CHAPTER 15.

1703.

Illness and death of the Duchess of Marlborough. — Correspondence on the subject of the marriage of the Duke to the Duchess. — The Duchess's death. — The Duke's younger daughters, Anne, Elizabeth and Mary.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opposition which Marlborough had endured from his Tory friends, he was assisted by their zeal and promptitude in granting the supplies both for the army and navy, as well as the subsidies for the pay of the foreign auxiliaries. The parliament also voted a supply for an augmentation of 10,000 additional troops, under the condition that the House General should prohibit all commerce and intercourse with France and Spain. The states were then requested to discontinue an intercourse against which Marlborough had before demonstrated in vain; and the king of France was deprived of the facility, which he had hitherto enjoyed, of recruiting money for the elector of Bavaria and the Italian army, as well as his subjects of the profitable commerce which they carried on under the protection of the dutch flag.

While Marlborough was actively employed in conducting the military preparations, he was visited by a domestic calamity of the severest kind, the death of his only son the Viscount of Marlborough. His wife had borne him two sons, John and Charles, and four daughters. The daughters all survived; but the eldest son, Charles, died at an early age. The elder, a promising youth, remained, and had now reached his seventeenth year. He was amiable in disposition, and united a solid understanding and lively parts with the most captivating mildness and docility.



John Marquess of Blandford

From an Original Picture at Blandford

Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller

Drawn by J. Wain - Engraved by W. B. D.

CHAPTER 15.

1703.

Illness and death of the marquess of Blandford—Correspondence on the occasion—Affectionate letters of the duke to the duchess from the continent—Marriages of his two younger daughters, ladies Elizabeth and Mary.

NOTWITHSTANDING the mortifications which Marlborough had endured from his tory friends, he was gratified by their zeal and promptitude in granting the supplies, both for the army and navy, as well as the subsidies for the pay of the foreign auxiliaries. The parliament also voted a supply for an augmentation of 10,000 additional troops, under the condition that the States General should prohibit all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain. The states were thus compelled to relinquish an intercourse against which Marlborough had before remonstrated in vain; and the king of France was deprived of the facility, which he had hitherto enjoyed, of remitting money to the elector of Bavaria and the Italian army, as well as his subjects of the profitable commerce which they carried on under the protection of the dutch flag.

While Marlborough was actively employed in maturing the military preparations, he was visited by a domestic calamity of the severest kind, the death of his only son the marquess of Blandford. His wife had borne him two sons, John and Charles, and four daughters. The daughters all survived; but the second son, Charles, died at an early age. The elder, a promising youth, still remained, and had now reached his seventeenth year. He was amiable in disposition, and united a solid understanding and lively parts with the most captivating mildness and docility.

After receiving a careful education at Eton, where he distinguished himself by his classical attainments, he was destined to fill the place of master of the horse to the young duke of Gloucester, that he might grow up in intimacy with the future sovereign. But on the death of the prince, he was sent to King's College in the university of Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Hare, afterwards well known, as chaplain to the duke and bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding his high birth, splendid prospects, and courtly education, he set an example of affability, regularity, and steadiness, above his years; and in one of his letters to lord Godolphin, he expresses the warmest approbation both of the studies and discipline of the place. He was regular also in the performance of his religious duties, and a punctual attendant at the administration of the holy sacrament. The turn of his character was displayed by the choice of his associates. His steady, affectionate, and studious disposition, led him to form an intimate friendship with Horace, afterwards lord Walpole, who was then a fellow of the same college, and who not only spoke of his qualities as singularly excellent and amiable, but at later times never mentioned his name without expressions of regret.

In this early period of his life, the fame of his illustrious father inspired the young nobleman with a strong passion for a military life, and in the midst of the campaign in 1702, we find him earnestly soliciting permission to serve in the Netherlands. Marlborough was too much gratified with this indication of youthful spirit to reject his request; but on referring the proposal to the decision of his lady, the anxious mother shrunk from the prospect of the danger and hardship to which her darling son must necessarily be exposed in a military life. The youth, however, was not discouraged by this repulse, for he persisted in his resolution to enter the army, and promised to procure for his friend, Horace Walpole, a commission in the cavalry, that they might both serve together.*

* Letters of the duke to the duchess in 1702.—Lord Walpole's Memoirs, chapter 1.

On this promising youth the fond father placed his hopes of transmitting his name and honours to posterity, and the mother loved him with the enthusiastic warmth of her temper. Among the Blenheim papers are several letters from lord Godolphin to the duchess, which exhibit striking proofs of their parental solicitude, and present in an interesting light those amiable qualities which so justly called forth their affection.

“ August 5. I will repeat to you, that I find lord Churchill very lean. He is tractable and good-humoured, and without any one ill inclination, that I can perceive. And I think he is grown more solid than he was, and has lost a great deal of that impatience of diverting himself all manner of ways, which he used to have. This is truly just as I find him, and I thought it might not be improper to give you this account, that you might be the better judge whether you would desire to see him now, according to the proposal I made in my letter of yesterday, or stay for that satisfaction till my lord Marlborough comes over.”

“ *Newmarket, Oct. 5.*

“ Lord Churchill is now at Cambridge, but to day he comes hither for five or six days. What you write about him, is, I think, extremely just and reasonable, and though the small pox has been in this town, yet he going into no house but mine, will I hope be more defended from it by air and riding, without any violent exercise, than he could possibly be any where else.”

“ *Newmarket, Oct. 8.*

“ Lord Churchill is extremely regular and orderly, nor do I see the least inclination in him to be otherwise. The good air and moderate exercise of this place, makes him look much better than when he came hither.”

“ *St. James's, Tuesday, 13.*

“ I am sure it will not be unreasonable to hear something of your pretty son, whom I have just now parted from ; and I assure you, without flattery or partiality, that he is not only the best natured and most agreeable, but the most free-thinking and reasonable creature that one can imagine of his age. He had twenty

pretty questions and requests, but I will not trouble you with the particulars, till I have the honour to see you."

Unfortunately the fears, which we find expressed in one of the preceding letters, were but too well-founded. A few days after his return to Cambridge, he was seized with a disorder which soon proved to be a small-pox of the most malignant kind. On the first news of the attack, the duchess hurried to Cambridge, and finding her son in imminent danger, sent to London for medical advice. The queen, with her usual affection, dispatched two of the physicians of her household, who for the greater expedition, travelled in one of the royal carriages. She at the same time testified her sympathy in a consolatory note.

" Thursday morning.

" I writ two words to my dear Mrs. Freeman yesterday, and could not help telling her again that I am truly afflicted for the melancholy account that is come again this morning of poor dear lord Blandford. I pray God grant he may do well, and support you. And give me leave once more to beg you for Christ Jesus' sake, to have a care of your dear precious self, and believe me with all the passion imaginable, your poor unfortunate faithful Morley."*

" I wish," she added in another letter, " that the messenger who carries the medicines which my dear Mrs. Freeman sends for, could fly, that nothing may be wanting the moment there is any occasion."

The lord treasurer also took this opportunity to advert to every motive of consolation, which reason or religion could suggest.

" Thursday, 10 in the morning.

" Mr. Godolphin's letter, just now arrived with the account of poor dear lord Blandford's condition, gives us the most grievous affliction imaginable.

* This was the epithet by which the queen in her letters to lady Marlborough invariably designated herself after the death of her son the duke of Gloucester.

“ Dr. Haines and Dr. Coladon went from my house about five last night, in a hackney coach and six horses, with orders to take one of the queen’s coaches to carry them on ; so I hope they were this morning with you. God send their remedies may be able to relieve the poor child, but it looks dismally by Mr. Godolphin’s account.”

“ The best use of one’s best friends is, to assist and support one another under the most grievous afflictions. This is the greatest trial of your submission and resignation to the Divine Providence that God Almighty could possibly send you, and consequently the greatest opportunity of pleasing him, by that respect and submission which is always due to his severest trials ; and at the same time, the greatest occasion of letting the whole world see that God Almighty has blessed you with a christian patience and fortitude, as eminent as the reason and understanding by which you are most justly distinguished from the rest of your sex.

“ God Almighty bless, preserve, and comfort you.”

Two letters from the father display his bitter grief on this afflicting occasion.

“ *Thursday, nine in the morning.*

“ I have this minute received Mr. Godolphin’s letter, and have sent to Mr. Horto’s, and do hope for what is desired, which this messenger will bring. I hope Dr. Haines and Dr. Coladon got to you early this morning.

“ I am so troubled at the sad condition this poor child seems to be in, that I know not what I do. I pray God to give you some comfort in this great affliction. If you think any thing under heaven can be done, pray let me know it, or if you think my coming can be of the least use let me know it. I beg I may hear as often as possible, for I have no thought but what is at Cambridge.

“ Medicines are sent by the doctors. I shall be impatient to the last degree till I hear from you.”

“ *Thursday night.*

“ I writ to you this morning, and was in hopes I should have

heard again before this time, for I hope the doctors were with you early this morning. If we must be so unhappy as to lose this poor child, I pray God to enable us both to behave ourselves with that resignation which we ought to do. If this uneasiness which I now lie under should last long, I think I could not live. For God's sake if there be any hope of recovery let me know it."

The disorder rapidly increasing, the disconsolate father hurried to Cambridge, within a few hours after he had written this letter, and arrived only in time to close the eyes of his beloved son, who died on the morning of Saturday the 20th of February. His remains were interred in the chapel of King's College, where a monument is dedicated to his memory, with an appropriate inscription, expressive of his amiable qualities, both of person and mind, and the inconsolable affliction of his parents.

No youth ever sunk into the grave amidst a more general expression of regret, or in circumstances more afflicting to his family. From the numerous letters of condolence which testify the sympathy of the queen and the sorrow of friends and connections, we select the most interesting.

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

"St. James's, Tuesday night.

"It would have been a great satisfaction to your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, if you would have given me leave to come to St. Alban's, for the unfortunate ought to come to the unfortunate. But since you will not have me, I must content myself as well as I can, till I have the happiness of seeing you here. I know nothing worth writing, but if I did, I should not trouble you with it, being sure no sort of news can be agreeable to your dear heavy heart. God Almighty bless and comfort my dear Mrs. Freeman, and be assured, I will live and die sincerely your's."

MRS. BURNET TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

"Feb. 26. Since from the first moment's fear of your present affliction, I have borne a very painful and sensible share in it, for-

give me if I err in presuming too much on the liberties you have formerly allowed me. I can say nothing to lessen the misfortune. It was as great as it could well be, because the person was as excellent, and perhaps has therefore got an early dismissal from the certain infelicities and almost unavoidable irregularities of a long life. Why should we wish those we love to be long tossed in storms, and in danger of an eternal shipwreck, rather than that they should make a short, secure, and pleasant voyage to an everlasting state of joy and satisfaction, where they want us not, and gain an advantage, though we suffer by a short absence. I know your grace wants not the feeble helps I am capable to bring, yet permit me to recommend one very reasonable reflection, and to beg you to recall it often, which is the many, very many blessings you have still remaining. To be yet one of the most fortunate persons in the world, is a subject for great thankfulness to God, though you were once possessed of a greater degree of happiness. To have not only the favour, but so far as the distance permits, the friendship of a most excellent queen ; a husband you love, and worthy of it ; children so remarkably good and amiable, and whose alliances and posterity give such just hopes of all that is desirable for the future, are such uncommon bounties of providence, that great as your loss is, it will be a degree of ingratitude to God, to let your thoughts so dwell on that, as not to take satisfaction in the large portion of blessings you still enjoy. I am persuaded you know how much submission to God is a duty, as well as the proper use of all afflictions. I have therefore only presumed to remind you of your remaining mercies, having generally observed that persons under present griefs are apt to slight and overlook their present advantages, which they would have found full satisfaction in, had they never possessed what they lament when withdrawn. May God support you under this great trial, and preserve you from all future causes of sorrow, bless the remains of your gracious family, and give the duke the best success, and a safe and glorious return. This is the hope and constant prayer of your grace's, &c."

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.*

“ One cannot judge, my lord, what time is necessary to moderate so just a grief, or when one may venture to trouble your grace upon this occasion, but certainly interruption is necessary to melancholy thoughts ; and that affliction which cannot be overcome, must be diverted by the necessity of affairs, or some other objects. Being alone, and not admitting friends, must necessarily increase and feed that affliction, which you are obliged to struggle with, since the misfortune is irreparable.

“ I know not whether it be a mitigation that every body bears a share in your loss, and that the concern is universal. It shews the value of what you no more enjoy ; but such is the state of humane affairs, that what we possessed with much satisfaction, we are always in danger of losing with the greatest extremity of regret.

“ I heartily wish your grace may find ease in this affliction. Give me leave to say you must seek it, and what satisfaction this world can afford on other occasions.”

LADY SUNDERLAND TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.†

“ The share I have myself in this sad affliction, makes it impossible for me to have a thought of comfort, which is the reason I do not trouble my dear mama ; and indeed the feeling I have for the dearest father and mother that ever was, is inexpressible. I am sure if wishing my life might be a ransom for your never having trouble would hinder it, my dear dear papa and mama would never feel any. If you think I should not be a trouble to mama, I should be glad to go down to her ; though it will be a melancholy comfort, it will still be one to me, that am with all passionate tenderness and duty your's,

A. S.

“ Lord Sunderland does not write, because he thinks it would be only troublesome, but wishes at any rate he could give you ease in this affliction, in which he has a great share.”

* Marlborough Papers.

† Marlborough Papers.

The death of so promising and amiable a youth was not merely a subject of sorrow to the friends and connections of the family, but became the theme of public condolence, and awakened the genius of the contemporary poets. Among others Congreve exercised his muse, in a pastoral called the "Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas," which was presented to lord Godolphin and to the duchess of Marlborough, by his noble patron lord Halifax. The poet has not unskillfully imitated a classic thought in making violets spring from the ground, watered by the tears of the mourning mother. The original manuscript is preserved among the Blenheim papers, and the poem itself is printed in the works of Congreve, so that it would be needless to introduce passages from a piece, which has now lost its interest, though at the time it made a deep impression on the minds of the afflicted parents.

A few days after the death of his son, the duke of Marlborough made a new disposition of his property, which was very considerable. He left his wife sole executrix, with all his plate, jewels, and furniture, and an additional jointure of £.2,000 a-year, and the estate of St. Alban's, with the manor of Sandridge, which belonged to her family, to descend to one of her children or grand children. Should he, to use his own expression, be blessed with a son, he left him the bulk of his fortune, but if not, he entreated the queen to create his son-in-law, Mr. Godolphin, earl of Marlborough, on the condition that he assumed the name and arms of Churchill. To him and to his heirs male by lady Harriet, he bequeathed the greater part of his property, with remainder in tail male, to the second son of his second daughter by lord Sunderland, and to the second son of his third daughter Elizabeth, by the earl of Bridgwater, and finally to the second son of his fourth daughter Mary, should she marry. He made some additions to the respective portions of his daughters, and assigned jointures to his daughters and grand daughters, in failure of male issue to himself, or other contingencies which were specified.*

* The duke of Marlborough to his solicitor, Mr. Guidott, Feb. 23, 1703.

As this will could not be drawn up in sufficient time to be executed before his departure, it was sent after him to the continent. Hearing that the packet by which it was returned, was taken on the passage, he testified peculiar anxiety to have another copy without delay. In a letter to the duchess, dated April 23, he observed "By the Antwerp Gazette, we are told that captain Saunders' yacht is taken; I hope it is not true. If it should be, you must make Mr. Guidott send me a copy of my will, that I may sign it, for I sent my will by captain Saunders to my lord treasurer. If it should be lost, I beg there may be no time lost in sending me another; for I shall be very uneasy till I have signed it, for fear an accident might happen to me, by which I might be deprived of letting the world see the kindness and esteem I have for you."

The death of the marquess of Blandford suspended the duke's journey, but after the first paroxysm of grief had subsided, the important occupations in which he was engaged, contributed to divert, though they could not soothe the agony of his mind. In the beginning of March he departed for the continent, where his presence was anxiously expected, with a heavy heart, though with undiminished zeal for the public service.

During the progress of the campaign, the tender recollection of his lost son frequently intruded itself on his mind, and the feelings of a father continually break forth in his correspondence. In a letter to Godolphin dated Cologne, April 9, he writes:—

"I have this day seen a very great procession, and the thoughts how pleased poor lord Churchill would have been with such a sight, have added very much to my uneasiness. Since it has pleased God to take him, I do wish from my soul I could think less of him."

The loss of the amiable youth cemented still more strongly the affection of the mourning parents. It subdued for a time the capacious temper of the duchess, and gave new strength to the tenderness of her lord. From the Hague he wrote immediately on his arrival:—

"March 16-27. I received this morning two of your dear let-

ters, which I read with all the pleasure imaginable. They were so very kind, that if it be possible you are dearer to me ten thousand times than ever you were. I am so entirely your's, that if I might have all the world given me, I could not be happy but in your love."

" *Camp before Bonn, April 20, 1703.*

" If you had not positively desired that I would always burn your letters, I should have been very glad to have kept your dear letter of the 9th, it was so very kind, and particularly so upon the subject of our living quietly together, till which happy time comes I am sure I cannot be contented; and then I do flatter myself I should live with as much satisfaction as I am capable of. I wish I could recall twenty years past, I do assure you, for no other reason but that I might in probability have longer time, and be the better able to convince you how truly sensible I am at this time of your kindness, which is the only real comfort of my life
* * * [part effaced] * * * and whilst you are kind, besides the many blessings it brings me, I cannot but hope we shall yet have a son, which are my daily prayers."

His anxiety indeed to perpetuate his name and honours appears from the eagerness, with which he seized the least shadow of a hope that the place of his lost son might yet be supplied. To the duchess, he observes:—

" *Friday, June 3.*

" What troubles me in all this time is your telling me that you do not look well. Pray let me have in every one of your letters an account how you do. If it should prove such a sickness as that I might pity you, but not be sorry for it, it might yet make me have ambition. But if your sickness should really be for want of health it would render me the unhappiest man living."

In several of his letters he expresses the warmest exultation at the prospect of male issue. " I have just now," he writes, " received your letters of the 6th. What you say to me of yourself gave me so much joy, that if any company had been by, when I read your letter, they must have observed a great alteration in me."

The uncertain state of the duchess's health, however, frustrated

these expectations, and drew from him the tenderest expressions of sympathy and concern.

“Thys, May 27.—June 7.

“I have had your's of the 18th, by which I find you were uneasy at my having the head-ache. It was your earnest desire obliges me to let you know when I have those little inconveniences of the head-ache, which are but too natural to me, but if you will not promise me to look upon my sicknesses as you used to do, by knowing I am sick one day, and well another, I must not be punctual in acquainting you when I am uneasy; for I would be just to you, and not make you uneasy. I think you are very happy in having dear lady Mary with you. I should esteem myself so, if she could be sometimes for an hour with me; for the greatest ease I now have, is sometimes sitting for an hour in my chair alone, and thinking of the happiness I may yet have, of living quietly with you, which is the greatest I propose to myself in this world.”

“Val notre Dame.

“I am so very uneasy since I received your's of the 23rd of the last month, that I shall have no rest till I hear again from you, for your health is much dearer to me than my own. It is impossible for me to express what I feel, having seen by my lord treasurer of the same post, that he thought you very far from being well. For God's sake let me know exactly how you are, and if you think my being with you can do you any good, you shall quickly see you are much dearer to me than fame, or whatever the world can say; for should you do otherwise than well, I were the unhappiest man living. We invested Huy yesterday, and I am afraid it will be a fort-night before we shall be masters of the castle. I pray God your next may put me more at ease than I am at this present.”

“Op-heeren, August 2.

“I have received your's of the 23d, which has given me, as you may easily believe, a good deal of trouble. I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe the truth of my heart, that my greatest concern is for that of your own dear health. It was a great pleasure to me when I thought that we should be blessed with more

children; but as all my happiness centers in living quietly with you, I do conjure you, by all the kindness I have for you, which is as much as ever man had for woman, that you will take the best advice you can for your health, and then follow exactly what shall be prescribed for you, and I do hope you will be so good as to let me have an exact account of it, and what the physicians' opinions are. If I were with you I would endeavour to persuade you to think as little as is possible of worldly business, and to be very regular in your diet, which I should hope would set you right in a very little time, for you have naturally a very good constitution. You and I have great reason to bless God for all we have, so that we must not repine at his taking our poor child from us, but bless and praise him for what his goodness leaves us; and I do beseech him with all my heart and soul that he would comfort and strengthen both you and me, not only to bear this, but any other correction that he shall think fit to lay on us. The use I think we should make of this his correction is, that our chiefest time should be spent in reconciling ourselves to him, and having in our minds always that we may not have long to live in this world. I do not mean by this, that we should live retired from the world; for I am persuaded that by living in the world, one may do much more good than by being out of it, but at the same time to live so as that one should cheerfully die when it shall be his pleasure to call for us. I am very sensible of my own frailties; but if I can be ever so happy as to be always with you, and that you comfort and assist me in these my thoughts, I am then persuaded I should be as happy and contented as it is possible to be in this world; for I know we should both agree next to our duty to God, to do what we ought for the queen's service."

Shortly after the period, when the duke was visited with this domestic calamity, he united his third daughter, lady Elizabeth, then in her seventeenth year, with Scroop Egerton, earl of Bridgewater.* This alliance gave the queen an opportunity of testifying

* Lady Elizabeth must have espoused lord Bridgewater in the beginning of 1703, for the queen in her letter to the duchess, in May, speaks of her as already married.

her regard to the family, and in a letter to the duchess she offers to confer on the bride a portion of £. 10,000.

“ Friday morning.

“ My lord Bridgewater being in haste to be married, I cannot any longer delay telling my dear Mrs. Freeman what I have intended a great while, that I hope she will now give me leave to do what I had a mind to do when dear lady Harriet was married; and let me speak to lord treasurer about it, when I see him, that your poor unfortunate faithful Morley may not be any occasion of delay to other people’s happiness.”

The only daughter remaining unmarried was lady Mary, who had now reached her sixteenth year. She was exquisitely beautiful, lively in temper, and no less amiable in mind than elegant in person. She enjoyed in a peculiar degree the affection of her parents, to whom she was doubly endeared by their recent loss, and is frequently mentioned by the duke in his letters, in the warmest terms of parental tenderness.

At this early period she attracted many admirers, and among the rest the earl of Huntingdon and lord Tullibardine, son of the earl of Cromartie; but their suit was fruitless. Her hand was also sought by the eccentric earl of Peterborough for his son lord Mordaunt, but the duke objected to the licentious character, and irregular habits of the young nobleman.

Shortly after a similar proposal was made by the family of Montagu, in favour of viscount Mounthermer, son of Ralph, earl of Montagu. But although this connection was not disapproved, yet from the youth of the parties, and the hesitation of the lady herself, the match did not take place till the ensuing year. The queen endowed the bride with the same portion as her sister lady Elizabeth, and soon after the father was created duke of Montagu, by the interest of Marlborough, and the son obtained the reversion of the place of great master of the wardrobe, held by his father.

CHAPTER 16.

1703.

Accession of Portugal to the confederacy—Insurrection in the Cevennes—State of the military affairs, and extensive plans of the french court—Arrival of Marlborough at the Hague—Operations from the commencement of the campaign to the surrender of Bonn.

BEFORE we commence the narrative of this campaign, it will be proper to advert to some events, which affected the interests, and influenced the conduct of the allies.

The king of Portugal, after acknowledging Philip as king of Spain, seized the first opportunity to resume his natural connections, and secretly concluded a treaty with England, which was the groundwork of a general alliance with the confederate powers. He recognised the rights of the archduke Charles to the spanish throne, and not only agreed to receive a combined army of english and dutch, to support his pretensions, but concluded a subsidiary treaty, for bringing into the field 28,000 Portuguese. This alliance opened the most vulnerable part of the spanish frontier to an attack by land; and afforded the means of weakening the efforts of France in other quarters, by drawing off a considerable portion of her troops to maintain the contest for the spanish crown on spanish ground.

This valuable acquisition to the confederacy, however, increased the difficulties and labours of Marlborough, by whom the military arrangements were principally directed, and who was charged with the vexatious office of obtaining troops from the dutch, the emperor, and the German states, at the time when his own plans occupied so much

of his attention, and the operations in the Netherlands required so great a proportion of force. It proved also the source of other embarrassments, because it furnished the discontented of both parties in England, with new arguments for a defensive system in the Netherlands, and for a vigorous effort in the country, which was the primary object of the war. Nor were the subordinate arrangements less perplexing; for he was exposed to endless importunities in the choice of generals and officers, and was perpetually harassed by the captious spirit of the Portuguese court. His correspondence during the whole campaign shews the extreme attention which he paid to the transactions with Portugal, the efforts he made to give energy to this distant branch of the war, and the odium he encountered in settling the appointment of officers. After long importunities from lord Rivers and other claimants, the command of the british troops, at his recommendation, was conferred on the duke of Schomberg, whose military talents, knowledge of languages, and conciliating temper, seemed to fit him for the office. Marlborough consented also to furnish a considerable detachment from the army in the Netherlands, to complete the expedition which was destined to act in Portugal.

Another event of some moment to the allies, was an insurrection of the protestants in the Cevennes, who were driven to desperation by the intolerance of their government. The importance of this commotion, in a mountainous country, bordering on the frontier of Catalonia, and where regular troops could scarcely act, was duly appretiated, and Marlborough took an active share in devising means to foment and support the insurrection. He experienced, however, much opposition from Nottingham and the other partisans of passive obedience, who expatiated on the injustice and impolicy of assisting rebel subjects against their legitimate sovereign. This opposition was over-ruled by the more liberal part of the cabinet, and not only were supplies of arms and ammunition forwarded by a combined fleet, which was dispatched to the Mediterranean, but measures were adopted by Marlborough for establishing a direct communication with these persecuted people, whose example appeared likely to spread, and

whose efforts diverted a considerable body of the enemy's troops from the principal theatre of action.

The grand operations of the war now claim attention. We have already observed, that towards the close of the preceding campaign, the elector of Bavaria had declared in favour of France, and by surprising Ulm, had opened a communication with the armies on the Upper Rhine. To favour his efforts, marshal Villars, on the 14th of October, defeated the margrave of Baden at Friedlingen, and cleared the passages leading to the Black Forest; while on the other hand, Tallard extended his force along the Rhine and Moselle, and in the course of a few days reduced Treves and Traerbach. The German troops were thus not only precluded from profiting by the reduction of Landau, but were circumscribed on both flanks, and compelled to take up an exposed and dangerous position, behind the lines of Stolhoffen.

In Italy the campaign had also closed to the disadvantage of the allies. Eugene, after failing in an attempt to surprise Cremona, the head quarters of the french army, had blockaded Mantua. But at this moment the duke of Savoy, who had incurred the suspicion of the french monarch, was superseded in the command by the duke of Vendome. The new general changed the character of the war. On the 26th of July he defeated a detachment of Austrians at Santa Vittoria, and foiled the efforts of Eugene to establish himself south of the Po. The dubious battle of Luzzara, in which both parties claimed the victory, really terminated to the disadvantage of the Austrians; for it led to the loss of Luzzara, and Guastalla, and rendered the situation of Eugene scarcely less critical than that of the margrave of Baden. Besides the difficulty and uncertainty of his communication with the austrian territories, he was confined between the Secchia and the Po, a narrow and broken tract of country, which was almost wholly exhausted by the preceding operations.

In 1703 the war accordingly assumed a new aspect and direction. The french monarch formed the design of recovering his losses in the preceding year, by offensive operations of the most vigorous kind in all quarters. Marshal Villeroy, who commanded

in Flanders, was to open the campaign early in the spring by reducing the places on the Meuse, and again threatening the dutch frontier. While the attention of the maritime powers was engaged by this aggression, a great and decisive effort was to be made against the emperor. As the Bourbon troops on one hand commanded the greater part of Italy, and on the other were supported by the co-operation of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria in the very heart of the empire, it was intended to penetrate from the Upper Rhine, through the defiles of the Black Forest, and to join the Bavarians ; while the united forces of France and Savoy opened a way through the mountains of the Tyrol .These combined forces, thus collected between the Inn and the Danube, were to direct their march to Vienna, and being supported by the hungarian insurgents, to obliterate by a single effort the glory of the austrian name.

In pursuance of this grand and extensive design, Villars drew the army of the Upper Rhine from their cantonments in winter, passed under the cannon of Friburg, broke up the quarters of the Germans, and on the 9th of March reduced Kehl, after a siege of thirteen days. Having secured this important passage, he returned across the Rhine to recruit and refresh his troops. On the approach of spring, the french in this quarter were divided into two bodies ; one under Tallard threatened the lines of Stolhoffen, and kept the prince of Baden in check ; while the other was led by Villars through the Black Forest, and descended into the plains of Bavaria. At the same time the elector defeated and drove the austrian troops beyond the Inn and the Danube, reduced Neuburg and Ratisbon, and then drawing towards the mountains, which border his country on the west, effected on the 12th of May, a junction with Villars, at Dutlingen.

The enterprise against Austria was to be seconded by efforts no less bold and vigorous on the side of the Netherlands. Trusting in the usual dilatoriness of the dutch, and calculating on the tardiness, which generally marks the operations of an army, collected from different countries, Villeroy had matured the requisite preparations, and hoped to reduce Liege before the allies could take the

field. The recovery of the other fortresses on the Meuse was considered as the natural result of this primary advantage, and before the close of the campaign it was confidently expected that the commander, who in the preceding year had compelled a french army to retrace its steps, would find his efforts limited to the protection of the dutch frontier.

At the moment when the operations on the Upper Rhine announced the developement of this vast design, Marlborough departed from England and reached the Hague on the 17th of March. The death of the prince of Saarbruck and of the earl of Athlone, relieved him from the contentions of two rivals; but other competitors arose, though of inferior rank and influence. These were Overkirk, Opdam, and Slangenberg. In the first, age had tempered, but not extinguished the fire of youth; the second was distinguished neither by talents nor activity; and the third was brave and skilful, but of so captious and overbearing a spirit, that he had remained unemployed during the latter part of William's reign. We may therefore ascribe the appointment of Overkirk, as chief in command of the dutch troops, to the influence of Marlborough, who considered him not only as the most able, but as the most tractable coadjutor. To prevent the effects of rivalry, Slangenberg was to be left on the side of the Scheldt, Opdam to be employed in the siege of Bonn, and Overkirk to act with the main army.

This necessary arrangement being accomplished, Marlborough visited the troops quartered in the different places of Dutch Brabant, to examine their condition, and accelerate their equipment. Returning to the Hague, he exerted himself in maturing the ulterior preparations, and successfully concluded a negotiation for retaining the prussian auxiliaries in the service.

Although detained in England by the death of his son, his domestic affliction had not diverted his attention from military duties. By his advice Rheinberg had been invested and reduced by the prussians during the winter, and the capture of this fortress was followed by the blockade of Guelder, the only place still held by the enemy in Spanish Guelderland.

His arrival at the Hague infused activity into the dutch government. He had formed an extensive plan for the invasion of French Flanders and Brabant; but in this, as in other designs, his genius was shackled by the timidity of the states. To soothe their alarms he reluctantly consented to open the campaign with the siege of Bonn. Of this enterprise he thus expresses his opinion, in a letter to Godolphin.

“ March 23-April 3. I do not doubt but we shall begin with Bonn, for they flatter themselves that the elector will capitulate, rather than venture to have his town ruined. I wish it may prove so; for otherwise it will cost us a great many men and a good deal of time, which we might spend more usefully in Brabant, now that a great many of their troops are gone towards Germany.

Having completed his arrangements at the Hague, Marlborough repaired to Nimeguen, to concert with Cohorn the plan and preparations for the intended siege. Then passing by Venloo, Ruremond, and Maestricht, to ascertain the state of the places on the Meuse, he inspected Liege, and held a conference with the imperial minister, count Sinzendorf, on the affairs of Germany. Crossing the country to Cologne, he was bitterly disappointed at the backwardness of the preparations for the reduction of Bonn, and no less chagrined by the proposal of Cohorn to defer it till the close of the year. His own language will best shew his sentiments.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ *Cologne, April 9-20.*

“ Since my arrival here yesterday, I have had a good deal of spleen, for instead of finding every thing ready, there are none of the boats with the ammunition and cannon yet come; so that M. Cohorn has proposed to me to let the siege alone till the end of the year. You know, in my opinion, I was never fond of this siege, but it has made so much noise, that I think it would be scandalous to avoid making it now, so that I have given the orders for investing it next Wednesday, in hopes that most things will be

come by that time. The news is so ill from Germany, that I am afraid we shall make a very sorry end of this campaign, especially if we should be so unhappy as to meet with great difficulties in this siege."

"Cologne, April 13-24."

"Our news from Germany continues to be very ill, which gives us very melancholy thoughts on this side. The town of Bonn should have been attacked before now, but that we have been disappointed in every thing. However, all the troops will be there to-morrow. I go from hence at the same time, and shall press the siege all that in me lies, for I shall be very uneasy till I am with the great army, hoping we may have time to do what is at my heart. After which we shall be the better able to defend ourselves against the french, when they shall think fit to be strong."

Notwithstanding the obstructions with which he had to struggle, Marlborough drew his troops from their quarters with his usual diligence; and to the surprise of the enemy, before the 2nd of April, he assembled an army, not only of sufficient force to protect Liege, but also to execute the intended enterprise on Bonn. Having consigned to Overkirk the command of a corps of observation distributed along the Meuse, between Liege and Maestricht, he proceeded towards Bonn, with a force of 40 battalions and 60 squadrons, and a train of 100 pieces of artillery. He himself arranged the quarters of the troops; and to accelerate the reduction of the place by a vigorous effort, formed the plan of three different attacks. The first, under Cohorn, was to be directed against the fort on the other side of the Rhine, and the second and third against the city and outworks, under the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel and general Fagel. The preparations were so rapidly matured, that the trenches were opened on the 3rd of May.

Meanwhile the french, unwilling to remain on the defensive, resorted to the usual expedients for obstructing the operations of the siege. They assembled their troops in the utmost haste, and advanced against the army of Overkirk. But they were not sufficiently prompt to effect their purpose; for the approaches against Bonn were pushed with such rapidity, that the fort was

taken on the 9th. The capture of this important work hastened the reduction of the place. Although the marquis d'Allegre, who was intrusted with the defence, made as vigorous a resistance as his means permitted, he was reduced to propose a capitulation on the 15th of May.

“ I have this minute,” writes the duke to Godolphin, “ signed the capitulation of Bonn, and I think if we had not been so uneasy as we are at what is doing on the Meuse, we might in four or five days more have made this garrison prisoners of war ; but as it is, we have only stopped a german regiment and two independent companies. I stay this afternoon to give such orders as are absolutely necessary, and hope to be early on friday with the army on the Meuse. The garrison here is to march out the same day, so that I shall not see them. Having been a good deal disturbed these two last nights, my head aches very much, so that you will excuse me if I say no more, but refer you to the capitulation sent to Mr. Secretary.”*

* Camp before Bonn, May 5-16, 1702.

CHAPTER 17.

1703.

Military operations after the surrender of Bonn—Grand plan for the attack of Antwerp and Ostend—Foiled by the misconduct of the dutch generals—Defeat of Opdam at Ekeren—Proposal of Marlborough to resume the intended attack—Again disappointed by the dutch generals—Return of Marlborough to the Meuse.

LEAVING a detachment to take possession of Bonn, Marlborough hastened to the succour of Overkirk, who was threatened by a superior force. On the 17th of May he effected a junction with the dutch commander, and established his head quarters at Hoechst, a monastery in the vicinity of Maestricht.

He now resumed with redouble zeal the plan he had formed, before he was compelled to undertake the siege of Bonn, which was by a well combined and rapid movement to transfer the war into the heart of Brabant and West Flanders. Indeed before the termination of the siege, the dutch generals, Cohorn, Spaar, and Opdam, had been dispatched to assume the command in the district of Bergen-op-Zoom, and accelerate the necessary preparations. Collaterally with this design a scheme was formed in England, and approved by Marlborough, to alarm the french coast by a descent near Dieppe; for which purpose troops were collected at Portsmouth, and were to be joined by a reinforcement from Holland. Of this extensive system of operation we find a hint in his letter to Godolphin, from the camp near Maestricht, May 8-19.

“ I shall to-morrow send an express to the Hague to see how far they have prepared *for what I call the great design*; so that we may not lose time in endeavouring to put it in execution. Before I left Bonn, measures were taken for the embarking 20 battalions of foot, if it be possible to get boats enough, and 21 squadrons of

horse are to march the nearest way to Bergen-op-Zoom, where they are to join the 20 battalions that go by water. These troops are to take the most advantageous post near Antwerp, after which there will be care taken to join more troops to them. If this design of Antwerp can be brought to perfection, I hope we shall make it very uneasy for them to protect Brussels and the rest of their great towns. I am speaking as if we were masters of Antwerp, but as yet the two marshals threaten."

In the mean while Marlborough endeavoured to engross the attention of the french commanders, and by offensive movements to prevent them from detaching succours to the intended point of attack. After reviewing and organising the army, which amounted to 59 battalions, and 129 squadrons, he broke up his camp, traversed the Yaar under the walls of Maestricht, and directing his march towards the heights of Hautain, which stretch between that river and the Meuse, he nearly surprised a considerable part of the enemy's army, who were foraging on the spot. His unexpected approach alarmed the french. Leaving two battalions to destroy the gates and works of Tongres, they made so precipitate a retreat, that when the confederates reached the camp of Thys, they had already gained an advance of two leagues.

His laudable zeal was not, however, seconded by those with whom he was obliged to act. Instead of fulfilling his orders for the invasion of West Flanders, Cohorn, to whom the superintendence of the previous arrangements was consigned, obtained the consent of the states to employ the troops on that frontier, in making an irruption into the country of Waes, where he hoped to levy large contributions. Marlborough, whose plan had embraced the reduction of Antwerp and Ostend, saw with regret that all his views would be frustrated, if this imprudent change was suffered to take effect; and thus expresses his vexation.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Camp of Thys, May 20-31.

"I am afraid the diversion M. Cohorn is gone to make in Flanders, will not oblige them to make any great detachment, for

his design is not on Ostend, as I desired, but to force their lines, by which he will settle a good deal of contribution which these people like but too well; for it is certain if they had taken Ostend, it would have been of great use to the common cause, and they might easily afterwards have settled the contributions; so that had I been at the Hague, I am very confident they would have preferred the taking of Ostend before that of forcing the lines.

“It is no wonder that Cohorn is for forcing the lines; for as he is governor of West Flanders, he has the tenths of all the contributions. He is also afraid that if we should besiege Huy, the french would take that opportunity of sending so many men as would hinder him from executing his design; so that he has begged of me to undertake nothing, but keeping as near to the french army as is possible till his expedition is over. After which we are to endeavour to take post, so as that we may have it in our power to make the siege of Antwerp.

“At this time the strength of the french army is 118 squadrons and 61 battalions, ours consists of 125 squadrons and 59 battalions; but our battalions are stronger than theirs, so that I think we have a good deal the superiority, which is very plainly the opinion of the french, since they always decamp when we come near them.”

The affairs of the confederacy on the Upper Rhine were not in a more encouraging posture, than those in the Netherlands, as from the success of the french and bavarians, the most pressing demands for succours were made both in England and Holland. Marlborough himself was too well acquainted with the inefficiency of the german troops, and the tardiness of german generals, to acquiesce in this application. He strongly remonstrated against any reduction of his own army, which he observed “would only answer the purpose of bringing things here into the same condition as they are there:” and he insisted with great warmth on the impolicy of granting any farther reinforcement than 20 battalions and 8 squadrons, which had been already detached for that quarter.*

* To lord Godolphin, Thys, May 24, June 4, 1703.

Notwithstanding these discouragements he did not relax in his design; but directing his views to Antwerp and Ostend, he communicated new instructions to Cohorn.

On this subject he again writes in terms of confidence to Godolphin from the camp of Thys.

June 7. After expressing a sanguine hope that he should be master of Antwerp by the 10th of July, O. S. he adds, "My heart is so set upon the taking of Ostend, that if I find it is practicable, I hope in due time I shall have the queen's assistance in having that place attacked. But of this no resolution must be taken till we first see what we can do with Antwerp, for I think the french will venture very much to hinder our taking that place.

* * * I have not been out of my chamber till Saturday night, having been very much out of order, but I hope in God it is now all over."

In conformity with these views he broke up from Thys on the 20th, and moved to Hanef; but the enemy again catching the alarm, made a hasty retreat to a position on the Mehaigne, between Tourine and Avesnes, within half a mile of their lines. We may judge of his feelings at this moment, from the tenor of his correspondence.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"*Hanef, June 3-14.*

"I think we might here have made a very good campaign, but we have already lost time, so that I am not in very good humour, but I endeavour all I can not to let it be seen. If this army can get to Brabant, I shall have a mind to go to the Hague for a day or two, it being impossible to write all that is necessary to tell them for the good of the common cause, but pray let nobody know this but the queen and prince.

"June 7-18. I writ yesterday to Cohorn, by which you will see I have not given over the thoughts of Ostend. Every thing goes now so very ill in Germany, that I wish we were able to spare them such a detachment as might do them good. We have now above 1,000 men sick, and as the season advances for fruit, we must expect much greater numbers, so that I have directed

Cardonnel to write, that the poundage might be returned over, for you know it is the only fund the parliament has left to be applied to the hospitals; so that I beg you will be so charitable as to give directions for it.

“ I know not where the french get their men, but it is certain they have six battalions in their army more than we have, though most of our's are stronger than their's.

“ *Hanef, June 14-25, 1703.*

“ Since my last I have had none from England. I have pressed the siege of Ostend so much at the Hague, that they have consented to it, provided M. Cohorn will undertake it. I have also sent Troignée, the governor of Liege, with my reasons to Cohorn for that siege. As soon as I know his resolution, you shall be sure to have it; for if it be undertaken, the english and dutch ships must hinder any succours by sea. If we meet with no obstruction in our march to-morrow, I hope not only to make the french decamp, but to oblige them to a battle, or retire behind their lines. I think their interest is not to venture a battle, but they having made no detachment, most of our generals think they intend it. I am now by my temper so inclined to quietness, that you will believe me, when I assure you, that no ambition of my own inclines me to wish a battle, but with the blessing of God, I think it would be of far greater advantage to the common cause, than the taking of twenty towns, so that as far as I can influence, I shall be far from avoiding it.”

Meanwhile the preparations for the grand attack had been matured, the troops which were to co-operate being collected at their respective posts.

Besides the lines already described as extending from Antwerp south-eastward to the Mehaigne, the french had formed another series of fortifications on the verge of the frontier, stretching from Antwerp towards Ostend, and passing to the south of Hulst. To maintain these defences they had established two flying camps, one under the marquis of Bedmar near Antwerp, the other under the count de la Motte, in the vicinity of Bruges.

According to the plan of attack, Spaar advanced into the dis-

strict of Hulst, to occupy the attention of the enemy in that quarter, and hold la Motte in check. Cohorn was established near Sta-broek, east of the Scheldt, to maintain a communication on one hand with Spaar, and on the other to support a body of troops collected under Opdam at Bergen-op-Zoom, who were suddenly to advance and surprise Antwerp, or at least to take up a position within the line by which it was covered. Marlborough himself was to harass and detain the main army, and having gained the advance by a rapid movement, to enter the lines between Lierre and Antwerp. He would thus have effected a junction with the dutch, interposed his army between the different bodies of the enemy, and after the reduction of Antwerp would have crowned the enterprise by an attack on Ostend.

As he had announced in his letter from Hanef, he broke up his camp during the night of the 26th, passed the Yaar, near the castle of Oleye, and advanced to Opheer. This movement, which was no less rapid than secret, threw the enemy into the utmost consternation. In momentary expectation of an attack, they remained the whole night under arms, and having ascertained the direction of Marlborough's march, they drew in the utmost haste to the strong ground near Landen.

On the 28th the confederates proceeded to Borchloen, and on the 29th to Hasselt; the enemy at the same time moving by Landen to Diest. In the course of the march, Marlborough wrote to the duchess.

"June 17-28. I have not time to answer your dear kind letter of the 11th. I was on horseback from twelve o'clock at night till four in the afternoon yesterday, and have again marched this day. Since we had no action yesterday, I believe we shall have none this campaign, for the french are now in a very strong country, and can go behind their lines when they please. Pardon the shortness of this letter, from a man that is heart and soul your's."

Meanwhile the troops destined to co-operate in the design against Antwerp hurried prematurely into action, contrary to their express orders, and the views of the generalissimo. In the afternoon of the 26th the troops of Cohorn traversed the Scheldt,

to Liefkenshoek, and on the ensuing morning he and Spaar made a combined attack on the enemy's lines. Spaar penetrated to the village of Stecken and Steenbroek, though with considerable loss, and Cohorn forcing the works at the point of Callo, reduced the fort of St. Antony. The same evening Opdam broke up from Bergen-op-Zoom, and on the 29th took up his position at the village of Ekeren, a little to the north of Antwerp.

As the most sanguine hopes had been excited by the extensive preparations for this enterprise, the petty successes of Spaar and Cohorn raised a general exultation in Holland; and the public eagerly expected that the next messenger would announce the fall of Antwerp. But the event proved, that the most profound and accurate combinations are easily frustrated by the slightest want of concert in the subordinate agents; the enemy being too well supplied with intelligence, to be ignorant of the force and movements of the dutch.

Perceiving that the ill judged irruptions of Cohorn and Spaar, had broke the connection between the different bodies, they seized the opportunity to form an enterprise against that of Opdam, which was left without support, and they executed it with equal skill and promptitude. Bedmar instead of suffering himself to be diverted by incursions which he was aware could produce no permanent effect, maintained his position, while Boufflers was detached on the 29th from the camp at Diest, with a force of 20,000 men, principally cavalry, and marched in all haste to Antwerp.

In the interim Marlborough redoubled his exertions to gain the advance on the enemy. To accelerate his march, he had detached his artillery and baggage from Tongres through Borchloen with orders to rejoin him at Beringhen, and traversing the Hersch and the Demer over several bridges, he encamped on the 30th, between Beringhen and Coursel. Here he halted on the 1st of July, and his correspondence attests his anxiety and exertions.

Writing to the duchess during this pause, he observes:—

“ *Sunday, June 20—July 1.*

“ I have been in so perpetual a hurry, having marched five days

together, and sometimes not coming into the camp till eleven or twelve at night, that I have not been able to answer so particularly your two last letters, as I shall always be desirous of doing. We have been obliged for many reasons to rest this day. However it gives me very little rest, being obliged to have the general officers with me for regulating the next three days march, so that I am obliged to take this time of writing, although I have several officers in my room talking about me; but as I love you above my life, so my greatest pleasure is writing to you, or hearing from you."

As the enemy broke up to follow their detachment, Marlborough again marched on the 2nd of July, and encamped between Moll and Balen. In the course of these movements he was apprised of the irruptions of Cohorn and Spaar, and the advance of Opdam to Ekeren. Chagrined at such imprudent attempts, and alarmed for the safety of Opdam, he sent him pressing orders to exert the utmost vigilance, and take up a more secure post, till he could be sustained by the main army. From the camp of Moll and Balen, he writes to Godolphin:—

"June 21—July 2, 1703. You will find by my last and this, that we have been in continual motion, the duke of Villeroy having marched with his whole army towards Brabant, so that we are obliged to do the same. He being within his lines, has no want of forage, but our march being over the heaths we have not that plenty. Nor do I believe that when we shall come near the lines that go from Antwerp to Lierre, we shall find forage for any long continuance.

"I am afraid the lucre of having a little contribution from the Pais de Waes, has spoiled the whole design; for I am very sure if we do not force the lines, which I am afraid will be pretty difficult, since all the french army will be there to defend it.* However, this must be done, or the siege of Antwerp be no more thought on * * * If M. Opdam be not upon his guard, he may be beat before we can help him, which will always be the

* Something is omitted in the original.

consequence when troops are divided, so as that the enemy can post themselves between them. But we have given him such timely notice, so that if he has not taken a safe camp, he will be very much to blame. The french are very cautious, and the dutch will venture nothing, so that unless it happens by chance, I think there will be no battle.

“ * * Since I sealed my letter, we have a report come from Breda, that Opdam is beaten. I pray God it be not so, for he is very capable of having it happen to him.”

The event verified these forebodings. Boufflers reached Antwerp on the 30th, and immediately united with Bedmar. Their combined forces filed through the northern gates of the city, and advancing with equal silence and celerity towards Ekeren, they detached a corps to seize Stabroek, the post which Cohorn had imprudently quitted, and cut off the road to Lillo. Although the preceding day Opdam had received warning from Marlborough, and was apprised by his own spies, that a considerable detachment was on its march from the french army, he contented himself with sending his baggage to Bergen-op-Zoom, and preparing for the removal of his camp. He supinely remained, till it was too late to obviate the effects of his negligence. Being apprised that the enemies were advancing in force, he mounted his horse accompanied by a few attendants, and rode towards a cloud of dust, which was raised by the movement of the hostile columns. Discovering his danger, he endeavoured to regain his camp; but finding all the avenues occupied, he left his troops to their fate, and after wandering the whole day through remote and solitary paths, reached Breda, conveying the disastrous intelligence that his whole force was cut off, and that he himself and his companions had escaped only by accident.

The utmost panic was excited at the Hague by the news of this great and unexpected disaster, and an extraordinary meeting of the states was held at midnight, to deliberate on means for securing Bergen-op-Zoom, and the other places on the frontier. But before the deputies, charged with this commission, could reach their place of destination, intelligence arrived, that after the dis-

graceful flight of Opdam, general Slangenberg had assumed the command; and by availing himself of the dikes and natural defences of the country, had repulsed the enemy, and effected his retreat to Lillo, with a loss comparatively trifling.

This untoward accident frustrated the whole design, and the only plausible accusation, which has ever been advanced against the well grounded fame of Marlborough, has been made on this occasion. Not only his enemies, but even his friends considered his line of operation as too extensive, and that he ought either to have succoured Opdam, or to have attacked that part of the enemy's army to which he was opposed, while weakened by so considerable a detachment. The documents which we have submitted to the reader, will, however, prove that the plan of attack was formed with his characteristic ability and judgment; but that the other generals acted in direct contradiction to his orders; and that after their imprudence had disconcerted the design, Opdam himself had neglected the most urgent injunctions to provide for his own safety, till the main army could advance to give him support.

Marlborough was not discouraged by these repeated disappointments, but resumed with new zeal his design of attacking the french lines, and reducing Antwerp. With this view he moved his camp to Thielen, on the 5th of July. From thence, accompanied by his principal officers, he repaired to Breda, to concert arrangements with the deputies of the states, and then proceeded to Bergen-op-Zoom, to hold a conference with Cohorn, who was indisposed. Here it was settled that an attack should be made on the lines, and an hundred pieces of artillery were to be furnished from the neighbouring fortresses of Holland. Meanwhile three engineers in disguise were to reconnoitre the state of the enemy's works, and procure information for making the proper dispositions.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, he anticipated new objections; for the deputies and generals belonging to the army which had failed, thought the enterprise too hazardous, and expatiated on the superior force of the enemy. To obviate the effects of these representations with the states, Marlborough wrote to his

friend the pensionary, indicating the intended plan of attack, and urging such arguments as were calculated to shew the probability of complete success. He observed, "I cannot but be of opinion, if we will venture, now that our armies are so near as to be able to help each other, we should not fail of succeeding. My thoughts on this matter are that baron Spaar should post himself so in Flanders, as might be most advantageous for the carrying on this great design, and that monsieur Cohorn, with such troops as can be spared from thence, should join the army at Lillo, and then both armies should approach each other, so as we might take just measures for the attacking the lines at the same time. If you have a mind to have Antwerp, and a speedy end of the war, you must venture something for it. I have not consulted the generals, so that you must consider this as my single opinion; but if this should be approved by others, and be thought fit to be put in execution, you must then act as the french do, by drawing out of your garrisons all the battalions that are possible; for those that can make the greatest fire will carry this matter. And I think all officers will agree with me, that if they opiniatre the defence of the lines between Antwerp and Lierre, and we should force them, they having a river behind them, it will be next to impossible for them to get off. On the other side, if they should take the resolution not to defend the lines, then the siege may be made with all the ease imaginable. Upon the whole matter, I take the good or bad success of this campaign depends upon the resolution that shall now be taken.

"We have resolved to stay in this camp two or three days, till measures can be taken, so that we may do our best to hinder the enemy from seeing our design till we are ready to act. I cannot end this letter without assuring you that I verily believe when the french shall see you are positively resolved to attack the lines, they will not dare to defend them; for should they be forced between Antwerp and Lierre, their army must be lost, and how fatal that must be to France you can best judge. I am confident if you miss this occasion, you will repent it when it is too late."*

* Camp at Thielen, July 4-15, 1703.

New obstructions, however, resulted from the recent failure. A vehement dispute arose among the dutch generals, who strove to throw on each other the blame of their ill success. Opdam laboured to extenuate his own culpable negligence and want of spirit; while Slangenberg, proud of his gallantry and good fortune, redoubled his invectives against all who had incurred his envy, and even presumed to accuse Marlborough of having exposed the dutch troops to defeat, from the mean and selfish motive of jealousy. A quarrel equally violent arose also between Slangenberg and Cohorn, while employed in arrangements for the march of the troops from Lillo. Cohorn in a fit of resentment again quitted the army, and the command devolved on Slangenberg.

At this period Marlborough returned to his army, to watch the motions of Villeroy, who, being joined by Boufflers and a reinforcement under Bedmar, had quitted his lines, and advanced to Sandhofen. To maintain the communication with the forces about Lillo, which was in some degree affected by this movement, the british commander on the 7th transferred his camp to Vorstlaar, and the french drawing still nearer to Antwerp, established themselves in the strong position of St. Job.

While Marlborough was labouring to soothe the resentment of Cohorn,* new difficulties arose in another quarter; for instead of the encouragement and support which he expected from the pensionary, he received from him a letter, testifying his fears respecting the intended attack on the lines, and his unwillingness to incur the responsibility attached to the attempt. On this epistle Marlborough observes, "The factions are so great in Holland that the pensionary dares not take any thing upon himself, so that I fear at last things will go wrong for want of a government."†

He was too tenacious of his purpose to yield either to the alarms of his friends, or the contentions and jealousies of those on whom he was obliged to depend. By importunity he at length

* Letter to Godolphin, Vorstlaar, July 8-19.

† To Godolphin, Vorstlaar, July 5-16.

extorted the consent of the dutch government for the two armies to unite, and attack the enemy in the position of St. Job. With this view he moved on the 22d of July from Vorstlaar to Brecht.

“Being,” he writes to lord Godolphin, “to march to-morrow, I begin to write this day, but shall not seal it till I come to the next camp, which is intended to be at Brecht, it being about half a league from the french camp. Our design is, that the troops at Lillo should march at the same time we do, and join us on Tuesday morning early, on the heath, in order to attack the french in their camp, which some pretend to think they will stay in, they having fortified it; but I take it for granted that as soon as they know of our march, they will retire behind their lines; for although they are stronger than we did imagine they could have been, when we shall be joined, we shall be much stronger than they.”

After noticing the neglect of the dutch commanders, in making the requisite preparations, he continues:

“These things make me believe that the attempt is not in earnest intended, although from the Hague they seem very desirous of it, and have given orders to their deputies, that joined the army two days ago, to use their utmost diligence to get all things ready for the attack. I shall be able by my next to let you know positively how far this matter will be attempted; for after our joining upon Tuesday, we shall be so near the lines, that we shall hardly have any forage, so that we must force the lines, or march from them.”

In a postscript, written when he had reached the camp, he concludes:

“I am very glad I wrote thus far yesterday, for I am so tired, having been near fourteen hours on horseback, that I should not have been able to have writ. The french have not marched yet, but I believe they will this night. We shall begin our march at three to-morrow morning; so that about seven, I hope we shall join the army at Lillo, after which we shall march directly to them, if they continue in their camp. But you may be very much at your ease; for I think it is one thousand to one they do not stay, for they can be behind their lines in one hour’s march.”

As Marlborough had determined, he moved on the 23rd of July at three in the morning, and advancing at the head of the cavalry, reached the great heath of Antwerp, where signals were made for the junction of Slangenberg with the troops from Lillo. But at this moment a heavy smoke rising from the camp of the enemy, announced their retreat behind their lines. At ten Slangenberg appeared, and Marlborough riding forward with an escort of six squadrons, held a conference with him, to settle the disposition of the forces. The junction being effected, the two armies encamped, that of Marlborough between Campthout and Westdown, and that of Slangenberg at Capelle.

As the enemy had declined a battle in the open ground, it was now necessary to adopt a resolution for an attack on their lines. For this purpose a council of war was held at Campthout, the head quarters: all the former objections and difficulties were revived and again discussed; and after a warm debate of five hours, no conclusion was adopted. "I was forced to end it," says the commander, "by desiring that each of them would put their opinions in writing, against nine to-morrow morning. I see enough, I think, to be sure the lines will not be attacked, and that we shall return to the Meuse. I intend to go out to-morrow morning, with a body of horse, in hopes to get near enough to view the lines."*

The result of all these deliberations and delays, when it was necessary to act, will be naturally anticipated. The timid and cautious spirits, who had terrified themselves with imaginary difficulties, were not tempted to encounter real obstacles, even by the prospect of decisive success. We describe the event of all these movements and deliberations, in his own words.

"On Friday I went with 4,000 horse to see the lines. They let us come so near, that we beat their out guard home to their barrier, which gave us an opportunity of seeing the lines; which had a fosse of twenty-seven feet broad before them, and the water in it nine feet deep, so that it is resolved that the army

* To lord Godolphin, Campthout, July 15-26, 1703.

return to the Meuse, and in the first place take Huy. Upon the whole matter, if we cannot bring the french to a battle, we shall not do any thing worth being commended. My letter of the 8th, which began with Sir, and was directed by Cardonnel, was intended for you, but was writ by candle light, as this is, and my eyes are so bad, that I do not see what I do, so that I hope you will excuse me that I do not answer all in your two letters of the 9th and 13th. We shall begin to march from hence on Thursday.”*

Marlborough now measured back his steps to the Meuse, to effect the reduction of Huy, which, though small, was considered as a post of some importance, because it covered Liege, opened the navigation of the Meuse, and facilitated an attack on Namur. He returned nearly in the same direction as he had advanced, bewailing at every halt the disappointments which he had undergone, and forming new hopes of more decisive operations.

From Honthalen he wrote, July 26, to Godolphin. “ I am but too much of your mind, that the going back to the Meuse is, as the french expression is, a *pis aller*. But as Cohorn has managed his business for these last six weeks, we had nothing else to do. I know that Huy will make very little noise in the world ; however, if we will make the war in this country, it is very convenient for us to have that place. Our superiority is not so great, but that the french may reasonably expect to make us uneasy, when we shall be obliged to divide our forces, as we must do when we make the siege. If they give occasion, I hope we shall venture, by which God may give us more success in three or four hours time, than we dare promise ourselves.

“ That of Antwerp and Ostend have succeeded so ill, that I am afraid of promising even for Huy ; but I shall let you know my thoughts for the remaining part of the campaign, and desire you will let me have your opinion how far I ought to endeavour the executing it ; for what I would do cannot be compassed without continuing the campaign as long as ever the season will permit, we having already lost so much time.”†

* To lord Godolphin, Campthout, July 19-30, 1703.

† Honthalen, July 26, 1703.

He then states his design, after the reduction of Huy, to force the enemy's lines, or pass the Mehaigne. If they should still decline a battle, he purposed to besiege Limburg, and finally to march with a sufficient number of men for the capture of Treves and Traerbach, preparatory to a campaign on the Moselle, which he designed to commence with the attack of Thionville.

Pursuing his march towards the Meuse, Marlborough on the 15th of August, took up his camp at Val notre Dame, while the enemy moving in a parallel direction behind their lines, established themselves in the position of Wasseige.

and forming new hopes of more decisive operations.

From Heintzen he wrote, July 26, to Godolphin. "I am too much of your mind, that the going back to the Meuse is, as the French expression is, a *pas aller*. But as Colborn has managed his business for these last six weeks, we had nothing else to do. I know that Huy will make very little noise in the world; however, if we will make the war in this country, it is very convenient for us to have that place. Our superiority is not so great, but that the French may reasonably expect to make us uneasy, when we shall be obliged to divide our forces, as we must do when we make the siege. If they give occasion, I hope we shall venture, by which God may give us more success in three or four hours time, than we dare promise ourselves.

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CHAPTER 18.

1703.

Political feuds in the english cabinet—Struggles between the whigs and tories—Correspondence of the queen, the duchess, and the duke on this subject—Attempt of the duchess to form a coalition between her husband and the whigs—Party contentions in Scotland.

WHILE the duke of Marlborough was agitated by the contending factions in Holland, and the endless jealousies of the dutch generals, which, to use his own expression, “made his life a burthen,” his attention was no less distracted with the feuds in the cabinet of England, and the violence of the two hostile parties who divided the parliament and nation, and vied in their censure of his conduct and principles.

We have already shewn that Marlborough and Godolphin, both from habit and principle, had hitherto identified themselves with the tories, and had not cordially favoured the whigs, notwithstanding the support given to the vigorous prosecution of the war. The two friends had indeed manifested a wish to act independently of all party connections, and to entrust the offices of government to moderate, upright, and able men of both denominations; yet in every part of their conduct we trace a bias towards those with whom they had so long been connected. To this tendency, as well as to the inclinations of the queen, we may attribute the formation of the ministry on a tory basis, with the intermixture of a few whigs, the least distinguished for party zeal and influence.

The majority of the tories, on their admission to power, had warmly professed their attachment to the system of foreign

policy adopted by Marlborough, and in particular had pledged themselves to support his vigorous efforts for the diminution of the french power. Their party principles, however, soon regained the ascendancy ; and if they did not openly oppose, they secretly thwarted, or at least coldly supported his views. Even in the late session, some of their zealous leaders began to manifest so refractory a spirit, that it was found impossible to carry on the public business, without some alteration of the ministry.

During the preceding winter, Marlborough and Godolphin had deliberated on the most advisable mode of effecting this change. Their principal object was, to obtain the dismissal of the earl of Rochester, the great leader of the tories, and the most strenuous opponent of offensive operations, who had assumed a tone of superiority over the other ministers, and attempted to supplant Godolphin at the head of the treasury. The plan which they devised to liberate themselves from so troublesome a colleague, was carried into execution soon after Marlborough returned to the army.

As the near relationship of Rochester to the queen did not permit them to insist on his dismissal, they procured an order for him to repair to his government in Ireland. If he complied, his absence would naturally lessen his means of annoyance ; if he disobeyed, they expected that the wounded pride of the queen would prompt her to remove him from his office.

The plan succeeded according to their wishes. Rochester at first haughtily refused to quit the political theatre of London, where he was so prominent a figure ; and the order being peremptorily repeated, he resigned in disgust. The government of Ireland was conferred on the duke of Ormond, who to the advantage of high birth, united great popularity, who was acceptable to the queen, and had gained the esteem of his tory friends by compromising the dispute with Sir George Rooke, on the failure at Cadiz.

From this moment Rochester became the leader of the discontented tories, and the principal mover of opposition, though several

of his adherents still retained their places, with a view more effectually to embroil the measures of government.

Notwithstanding the disgrace of Rochester a similar spirit was manifested by the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state. He was a nobleman of high honour and unimpeached integrity, as well as of great diligence and capacity, but deeply imbued with tory principles, both in religion and politics. He was at the same time aspiring, presumptuous, and overbearing. Conscious of his influence with the queen, and his political credit, he hoped to become the leader of the administration, and secretly laboured for the removal of Godolphin. Though connected with Marlborough by the habits of long intimacy, Nottingham was no less hostile than Rochester to his grand system of foreign policy, and deprecated with equal zeal, the connections which were formed on the continent, as well as the vigorous efforts to which those connections gave rise. Hence, though he held the office of secretary of state, he became the head of an opposition in the ministry. His zeal was stimulated by Rochester, whose natural impetuosity of temper was heightened by a sense of mortified pride, and he found warm adherents in the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Jersey, who were actuated by congenial principles. The views of Nottingham were also warmly seconded by a strong phalanx in the house of commons, at the head of which were his friend and dependent, secretary Hedges, and Sir Edward Seymour, comptroller of the household, member for Somersetshire; a gentleman who from family interest and landed property as well as party zeal and vehemence in debate, had acquired an extraordinary share of influence.

A schism was thus imperceptibly formed in the administration. Clashing interests and discordant views embarrassed the measures of government; Marlborough became the object of invidious reflection or open censure, and a crisis was evidently approaching which must terminate in the exclusion or preponderance of Nottingham and his partisans. Indeed at an early period in the spring, his conduct had given such dissatisfaction, that Marlborough in a letter to Godolphin, strongly urges the necessity of his removal.

“If,” he observes, “lord Nottingham continues being so im-

pertinent as to join with Sir Edward Seymour and others to obstruct business, I think it were much better to be plain with him, than to suffer him to go on in that way; for by that he will be much abler to do mischief than if he were out, and I am very much mistaken if he will care to part with his place."

Other perplexities, however, arose from this unfortunate feud. Marlborough more deeply felt the defection of his former friends and associates, because it exposed him to the alternative, which he never contemplated without regret, of being thrown into the power of the opposite party. Nor were his apprehensions unfounded; for the whigs deeming the opportunity too favourable to be neglected, assailed him with importunities, and strongly resented the unwillingness which he manifested to admit more of them into power. Some even adopted the language of their political opponents, clamoured for a defensive system in the Netherlands, and accused him of purposely prolonging the war for the sake of his own advantage. He thus became the common mark for the obloquy of both parties; and while his measures were arraigned, and his exploits decried by the tories, his name was associated with that of Harley in the whig satires and lampoons of the day.

Even at the army he was not beyond the sphere of contention. Godolphin, his constant correspondent, incessantly expatiated on the divisions in the cabinet and the clamours of party, and overwhelmed his friend with complaints on his own irksome situation, and his unpleasant intercourse with the queen, who assailed him with reproaches whenever he presumed to convey the slightest hint on the necessity of conciliating the whigs. Wearied with censure and contradiction, he at length repeatedly declared his resolution of retiring from a situation in which he could not obtain the support, or even indulgence of either party. The replies of Marlborough prove how deeply he was affected by these lamentations, and the obloquy to which they were both exposed.

"May 13. I find by some of your letters, that 10 (Sir Charles Hedges) has been very unreasonable. I hear so much of the unreasonable animosities of the parties, that I pity you with all my

heart. I have very little rest here, but I should have less quiet of mind if I were obliged to be in your station."

May 31—June 11. After adverting to an altercation which had arisen on so petty a subject as the removal of a store-keeper at Carlisle, he adds, "I am so altered in my temper, that when the queen's service will permit me to be quit of this station I am now in, I hope she will be so good as to allow of my meddling with very little business, by which I might be out of the power of the parties, for I am very sure I can please neither."

"I am very sensible, by a letter I have received from lord Nottingham, that there will be an ill use made this winter of the dutch ships coming so late. As much as I hear of the behaviour of lord Nottingham, if there were any body proper to be put in his place, he could do less hurt to the business of the queen if he were out, than where he now is. But you can judge of this matter infinitely better than I can do, so that I desire what I say on this subject may go for nothing, unless you are of the same opinion." Writing to the duchess, he also observes, "I agree with you in pitying 51 (himself), who, I am sure, will ever do his utmost against France; but if his misfortune be, that those called his friends, be of another mind, as you think they are, they shall never be countenanced by me; nor do I very much care if they or the other party be angry with me, for I have no other thought or ambition left, but that I may be blessed with your kindness and the queen's good opinion."

In several of his letters we find the same complaints against the conduct of Sir Charles Hedges, as against that of Nottingham.

July 22. He writes to Godolphin, "Your thought as to Mr. Methuen, is as certainly right as that 10 (secretary Hedges) will not like it. If you should oblige him in this and in almost every thing he asks (if his temper be what I am told it is), the queen must expect that he will, underhand, endeavour to obstruct every thing, which I am very sorry for, but I am afraid it is true."

"I have just received your's of the 16th, with the two inclosed letters. I do from my heart pity you, and every body that has to do with unreasonable people; for certainly it is much better to

row in the gallies than to have to do with such as are very selfish, and misled by every body who speaks to them, which I believe is the case of the author of your two letters."

Amidst such contentions it was impossible for the duchess to remain indifferent. She not only renewed her efforts to engage her husband in a more cordial union with the whigs, but importuned the queen with her censure of one party and praise of the other, and thus involved him in a new series of embarrassments. Availing herself of the peevish complaints which he incessantly made against the tories, she revived the unpleasant discussion which had already arisen on this subject with the queen, by communicating extracts of his letters, accompanied with remarks of the most acrimonious kind. One letter in particular, in which he had announced his wish to resign, was made the subject of such a commentary, and accompanied with the hint of a similar resolution by lord Godolphin and herself. The effect which these appeals produced on the queen appears from one of her answers to the duchess.

"Windsor, Saturday."

"The thoughts that both my dear Mrs. Freeman and Mr. Freeman seem to have of retiring, give me no small uneasiness, and therefore I must say something on that subject. It is no wonder at all that people in your posts should be weary of the world, who are so continually troubled with all the hurry and impertinencies of it; but give me leave to say you should a little consider your faithful friends and poor country, which must be ruined if ever you put your melancholy thoughts in execution. As for your poor unfortunate faithful Morley, she could not bear it; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone. I never will forsake your dear self, Mr. Freeman, nor Mr. Montgomery,* but always be your constant and faithful friend, and we four must never part till death mows us down with his impartial hand."

* A familiar appellation given to Godolphin in their private correspondence.

The affectionate language of this letter produced very different effects on the minds of the duke and duchess. He expressed a grateful sense of the queen's goodness, and testified his resolution to encounter the vexations of public life as long as she deemed his services necessary. At the same time in his correspondence with the duchess he renewed his declaration that he would never submit to the entanglements of either party.

"Camp at Hanef, June 3-14."

"By my last I had not time to give any answer to your two letters of the 23rd and 25th of this last month. There is nothing more certain than what you say, that either of the parties would be tyrants if they were let alone; and I am afraid it is as true, that it will be very hard for the queen to prevent it. I think nothing should be omitted to do justice, and then God's will be done. What you say of lord Nottingham concerning the park is very scandalous, but very natural to that person. I wish with all my heart the queen were rid of him, so that she had a good man in his place, which I am afraid is pretty difficult.

"We are bound not to wish for any body's death, but if 14 (Sir Edward Seymour) should die, I am convinced it would be no great loss to the queen nor the nation; and you may be sure the visit intended by 19 (lord Rochester) and his friend could be for no other end than to flatter 14 (Sir Edward Seymour) to do such mischief as they dare not openly own."

The sanguine temper of the duchess was much affected by this mark of the queen's affection, and she flattered herself that little exertion was now wanting to gain a complete victory over the political prejudices of her royal mistress. She therefore teized the queen with her eulogies of the whigs, and her censures of the tories, whom she involved in one common accusation of jacobitism. Deeming also the bias of her husband towards his former friends much lessened by their petulant opposition, she again urged him to coalesce with the whigs, who alone concurred in his views, and to discard an ungrateful faction, equally enemies to his glory, and to his great designs for the good of his country. She even pointed

out seven of the tory chiefs, whose continuance in office she declared incompatible with the public welfare.*

Her attempts were, however, far from producing the expected effect. From the queen, though offended with the tories, it drew a justification of their loyalty, and a recrimination of the whigs, whom she charged with holding tenets no less dangerous to the monarchy than to the church. The duke also combated her arguments with his usual tenderness, but testified a decided resolution not to abandon the independent principle on which he had hitherto acted. In a letter to the duchess from the camp of Hanef, June 10, he dwells with peculiar emphasis on this determination:

“ I did yesterday receive your's of the 3rd, and do agree with you that the seven persons you mention in that letter, do not do the queen that service they ought to do, but I can't but be of the opinion, that if they were out of their places, they would be more capable of doing her hurt. Some of them might, in my opinion, be removed, as 15 (lord Jersey) and 42 (lord Nottingham); but who is there fit for their places? I do protest before God I know of none. I am of your mind, that if the queen spoke to lord Rochester in the manner you mention in your letter, I believe it would make him very cautious; not that I think it would make him honest, but he would be afraid. The conversation that was between lord Rochester and the speaker is no doubt the language that he entertains the whole party with, all; and if they can once be strong enough to declare which way the war shall be managed, they may ruin England and Holland at their pleasure, and I am afraid may do it in such a manner as may not at first be unpopular, so that the people may be undone before they can see it. I can't say a word for the excusing the dutch for the backwardness of their sea preparations this year; but if that, or any thing else should produce a coldness between England and Holland, France would

* Six of the seven persons here designated were the earls of Nottingham (42), and Jersey (15), Sir Charles Hedges (10), Sir Edward Seymour (14), the duke of Buckingham, and Sir Nathan Wright, the lord keeper.

then gain their point, which I hope in God I shall never live to see, for our poor country would then be the miserablest part of all Christendom; for we should not only lose our liberty, but our religion also must be forced, and those gentlemen that would be helping to this, would then be as miserable as others; for the french when they are the masters make no distinctions. I could say a great deal upon this subject, but I dare not, for fear of accidents. In short I think the two parties are so angry, that to ruin each other they will make no scruple of venturing the whole."

The officious zeal of the duchess, was not, however, discouraged by this repulse. She renewed her importunities with her husband, offered her mediation with the whigs, and urged that their petulance would easily be restrained by proper representations. But Marlborough disdained an appeal, which he knew would be construed into an application for support, and followed by counter demands. In reply, he testified his concern with unusual feeling, renewed his former declarations with greater warmth, and concluded with expatiating on the fatal consequences which must result from the factious attempts of both parties to thwart and frustrate his military designs.

"Alderbeesten, Sept. 30, 1703.

"I see by this last letter, that you have mistaken my meaning in some of my letters, for though I may have complained of some you call your friends, yet it never entered into my thoughts that they should be spoke to in order to have a better thought of me; for I know they would be as unreasonable as the others in their expectations, if I should seek their friendship: for all parties are alike. And as I have taken my resolution of never doing any hardship to any man whatsoever, I shall by it have a quiet in my own mind; not valuing nor desiring to be a favourite to either of them. For in the humour I am now in, and that I hope in God I shall ever be of, I think both parties unreasonable and unjust. I am very sensible of several errors I have committed, but I must not endeavour to mend them by running into greater; so that I shall make complaints to neither, but endeavour to recommend myself to the world by my sincere intentions of governing all

my actions by what I shall think is for the interest of my queen and country. I hope in God this will agree with what you desire and then I can have no uneasiness."

In addition to the information conveyed by Godolphin and the duchess, Marlborough received private intelligence from Harley, whose sentiments were congenial to his own. Equally trusted by the moderate whigs and tories, he was enabled to develop their views and wishes. He communicated to the duke the result of his conversations with Nottingham on one side, and with some of the whigs on the other. He stated their respective complaints to turn principally on the mismanagement of the fleet, and on the impolicy of an offensive war in Flanders, and conveyed an intimation which equally marks the spleen and resentment of both; namely, that they concurred in accusing Marlborough and Godolphin, of fostering designs hostile to the interests of the house of Hanover. To the opinion of Harley, which bore the appearance of candour and impartiality, Marlborough paid the utmost deference, and by his representations was encouraged to persist in the resolution of yielding to the whigs as little as to the tories.

The intelligence, however, made a deep impression; for in sending the letter of Harley to the duchess, he observes, "If both parties agree that the war must not be offensive in this country, I am very much afraid the dutch will not think themselves very safe in our friendship. However, I cannot but be much concerned; for if this country is ruined, we are undone, and then 10 (Sir Charles Hedges) and his friends may succeed, which otherwise is next to impossible. There are a thousand reasons for preserving our friendship with the dutch; for as we save them, so they must preserve us from the arbitrary power of 19 and 1, which must be entirely governed by 3.*

"May God preserve me and my dearest love from seeing this come

* These ciphers cannot all be discovered, but they evidently convey the meaning that the ascendancy of the violent tories would lead to the restoration of the pretender, and consequently to a dependance on France.

The lines in italics are scratched out with the pen.

to pass, but if we should quarrel with 24 (the dutch) I fear it might happen."

Notwithstanding the objections of Marlborough to an union with the whigs, the duchess induced lord Sunderland to make overtures in the name of his party, as we learn from a letter of the duke, dated August 1.

"If this finds you at Althorpe, remember me kindly to them all, and tell lord Sunderland that I thank him for his letter, and that I hope I shall always continue in the humour I am now in, that is to be governed by neither party, but to do what I think is best for England, by which I shall disoblige both parties. But as long as I have quiet in my own mind, I shall not care; for as I had rather be without employments than have them, I shall need none of their protection."

The party feuds which agitated the british parliament and nation, spread with a still more detrimental effect into Scotland. Soon after the accession of Anne overtures had been made for an union between the two kingdoms, and commissioners had been finally named to carry the design into execution. But an arrangement, which was so likely to produce domestic tranquillity and public benefit, was violently opposed by the jacobites and many of the discontented tories, because it tended to weaken the interest of the Stuart family; and their opposition was fomented by the declamations of the same party in the english parliament. Among the various expedients, to which the enemies of the revolution resorted, for the purpose of embroiling the two kingdoms, was the proposal of a bill in the legislature of Scotland, which under the title of the Act of Security, was calculated to abridge the established prerogatives of the crown, to limit the choice of a successor, and to throw a vast additional power into the hands of the parliament. The discussions which took place on this act were marked by the utmost virulence; and when the royal assent was withheld by the queen's commissioner, the commotion almost rose to open rebellion. An act for settling the succession in the house of Hanover was rejected with contempt, and some of the more violent even threatened to move for committing the earl of

Marchmont, who had proposed it, to the castle. The instigators of these feuds appeared resolved to extort the assent of the crown to the act of security, by withholding the supplies, and the commissioner with difficulty succeeded in pacifying them, by relinquishing the right of the crown to make peace or war, and promising that they should resume the question in the ensuing session.

These feuds contributed to aggravate the embarrassments which the treasurer and Marlborough encountered from the machinations of contending parties in England; and their correspondence is filled not only with complaints of the difficulties which consequently occurred in the management of domestic affairs; but of the injurious effects which resulted to the confederacy abroad, and particularly of the alarm, jealousy, and lukewarmness which were produced in Holland.

CHAPTER 19.

1703.

Reduction of Huy—New proposal of Marlborough to force the french lines—Capture of Limburg and Guelder—Plan of the french for the invasion of Austria—Defection of the duke of Savoy from the french to the allies—The archduke Charles proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna—His interview with Marlborough at Dusseldorf—Dissatisfaction of Marlborough with the conduct of the dutch—Arrives at the Hague—Lands in England—Receives the new king of Spain—His parliamentary conduct on the revival of the bill against occasional conformity.

AFTER this detail of the political feuds in which Marlborough was involved during the labours of an arduous campaign, we resume the narrative of military operations.

On the failure of his brilliant designs to accelerate the termination of the war, nothing remained but the comparatively inglorious task of reducing the petty garrisons which clogged the navigation of the Meuse. Accordingly Huy was invested on the 16th of August, and the trenches opened the ensuing night. In a few days the forts surrounding the place were reduced; and batteries being raised against the castle, the governor was constrained to surrender, on condition that the garrison should be exchanged.

After the capture of Huy, some hesitation prevailed in regard to ulterior operations. In a grand council of war held at the confederate camp of Val notre Dame, the commander in chief resumed his plan, and urged the policy of profiting by the superiority of the allies, to force the weakest part of the french lines, consisting of an accessible space of ground, two leagues and a half in extent, between the source of the Mehaigne and the Meuse. His opinion was warmly supported by the english generals, and those

commanding the auxiliary troops of Denmark, Luneburg and Hesse. But he was again opposed by the dutch deputies and generals, who expatiated on the risk and danger of an enterprise, which they termed dubious and desperate; dwelt on the little advantage which could be derived even from success; and contended that the enemy would still find ample resources for defence in the nature of the ground, particularly by occupying the strong position of Ramillies.* Finally, they dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the utility which would arise from the possession of Limburg. In this conflict of opinions, an appeal was made to the states; but their decision only produced new deliberations, which ended in the usual result.

Writing to Godolphin from St. Tron, August 26, September 6, Marlborough observes: "You will see by my letter to the states that the dutch generals could not be brought to attack the lines. I pray God they may not have too much reason to repent it. My eyes are so extremely sore with the dust and the want of rest for these two days, that it is a very great trouble to me to write."

In another letter he adds, "I dare not say to you what I think of some of those gentlemen that have hindered us from forcing the lines; but I am very confident before this campaign is ended, they will be ashamed of it; for they begin already to say, that if they had had more cannon they should not have been against it."

"I am going to the siege of Limburg, so that I believe I shall be a fortnight from this army, in which time I hope to recover my health; for the unreasonable opposition I have met with has so heated my blood, that I am almost mad with the head-ache."

In the letter to the states to which he refers, he strongly insists on the practicability of the proposed attack, and complains in similar terms of his disappointment. He concludes, "As this is past, and as there is no appearance of doing any thing on this side, I have given my opinion that we ought not to lose a moment in preparing for the siege of Limburg, where thinking my presence

* It is not unworthy of notice that this was the very position on which the french were defeated in 1706.

may be more useful than here, I shall make a point of going thither as soon as we are ready to undertake the siege.”*

To the duchess he imparted his chagrin in still more feeling terms: “When I writ last I was so very much disordered that I writ in great pain. I cannot say I am yet well, for my head aches violently, and I am afraid you will think me light headed, when I tell you that I go to-morrow to the siege of Limburg in hopes to recover my health. But it is certainly true that I shall have more quiet there than I have here; for I have been these last six days in a perpetual dispute, and there I shall have nobody but such as will willingly obey me. I call God to witness that the attack of the lines, which I have been pressing them to do, was out of no other thoughts but for their own good.”

Notwithstanding a series of heavy rains which deluged the ground, the army was again set in motion on the 5th of September, and on the 10th, Limburg was invested. The trenches were opened with all diligence, the batteries began to play on the 25th, and a wide breach being soon effected, on the 27th the governor, with a garrison of 1,400 men, surrendered at discretion.

With this success the active operations of the year were closed. Guelder, which had sustained a blockade since the spring, speedily followed the example of Limburg. Thus the campaign, though less brilliant than Marlborough had expected from the spirit and condition of his army, and the grand designs which he had formed, was not without advantage; for the territories of Cologne and Liege were secured; and by the reduction of all Spanish Guelderland, the states were relieved from that dread of invasion which had so long held them in suspense. By these acquisitions the way was prepared for more important and extensive enterprises.

By the correspondence it appears that Marlborough was impatient to hasten from this scene of mortification and chicanery, that he might divert his chagrin in the society of his family and friends, and assist at the opening of the parliament, which was summoned

* Lettre du duc de Marlborough aux Etats Généraux, Sept. 6, 1703.

to meet on the 4th of November. But a new and unexpected change of affairs rendered his presence still necessary on the continent.

The grand plan of the french to unite their Italian and German armies, and penetrate into the Austrian dominions, was obstructed by the disputes between Villars and the elector of Bavaria, the patriotic resistance of the Tyrolese, and finally frustrated by the sudden defection of the duke of Savoy.

Victor Amadeus had apparently embraced the Bourbon cause with zeal and sincerity, and had been rewarded for his attachment by the marriage of his daughters, one with the duke of Burgundy, presumptive heir to the french crown, and the other with the duke of Anjou, the successful pretender to that of Spain. He was, however, too sagacious a statesman not to perceive, that in contributing to the ruin of Austria, he was facilitating his own reduction to a state of dependence on France.

Urged by this motive, and stimulated by the hope of selling his assistance to advantage, he made several overtures to the court of Vienna as early as the month of May. To facilitate the negotiation, count Auersperg was deputed on the part of the emperor, and reached Turin on the 14th of July. A treaty was commenced the same day with the duke in person, the secret being confided only to the marquis de Prie his first minister. To evade the suspicious eyes of the french party, the imperial agent was clandestinely conveyed to Castiglio, a royal seat about two leagues from Turin, where the duke occasionally visited him under the pretence of hunting. But the difficulty of reconciling the jarring pretensions of the two parties; the demand made by the duke, of a guaranty from the maritime powers; and, above all, his dread of France, kept the arrangement in suspense, though such hopes were entertained of its conclusion, that Mr. Hill, a confidential agent of Marlborough, was appointed envoy to Turin, on the part of England, and reached the frontier of Italy as early as August. With a mixture of mystery and duplicity, the duke declined receiving the english envoy, and remanded the imperial agent to the capital,

where he was lodged, to use his own expression, like a political hermit, in an apartment of the palace. The difficulties and objections successively advanced by the duke irritated the emperor, and to secure a Proteus, who assumed every shape to elude his grasp, a hint of the negotiation was suffered to transpire through the German papers.

Still however count Auersperg was allowed to remain ; for the duke of Savoy was unwilling to relinquish the negotiation, though his fears were awakened by the reverses which attended the imperial cause, and the inefficiency of the Italian army, to which he could alone look for support. The courts of England and Holland at length interfered to bring the discussion to a successful issue ; and Marlborough, in particular, endeavoured to hasten an arrangement, which appeared likely to produce such advantage to the cause of the allies. But Victor Amadeus yet fluctuated between hope and fear, and might perhaps have delayed his final resolution till it was too late to be effectual, had not the french court precipitated his defection by an impolitic act of severity. Acquainted with the secret intrigue, no less by the artful disclosure of the court of Vienna, than by the discoveries of their own agents, they hoped to terrify the wily prince by a decisive blow. Vendôme, who was then advanced to the borders of the Tyrol, arrested and disarmed 5,000 piemontese, who formed part of his army. This unexpected and public affront roused the indignation of a prince who prided himself on his cunning, and on this occasion his promptitude was strongly contrasted with his former indecision. The news reached him on the 3rd of October, and the following day indignantly throwing of the mask, he rejected the offer of the Milanese in exchange for Savoy and Nice, which was made through the channel of the french commander, acceded to the grand alliance, and concluded subsidiary treaties with the maritime powers. In return for his accession he was to be assisted by the emperor with a force of 20,000 men, to enjoy the supreme command in Italy, and to receive, in addition to that part of the Montferrat which belonged to the house of Mantua, Alessandria, Valenza, and Lumellina, with the Val de Sesia. These terms

were guaranteed by the maritime powers, who agreed to aid him with a monthly subsidy of 80,000 crowns.*

In consequence of this change in Italy, the grand attack on Austria was suspended. The elector of Bavaria, after again defeating general Stirum at Hochstedt, employed himself in reducing the frontier fortresses, in order to resume the design with more certain effect the ensuing year. The military movements on the Upper Rhine were influenced by the same cause. After Villars had penetrated into Bavaria, the army of Tallard was reinforced, and the duke of Burgundy nominated to the command. In September he reduced Old Brisach, and closed the campaign with the recovery of Landau, which secured the communication with the forces collected beyond the Black Forest.

The revolution in Italy, and the accession of Portugal to the grand alliance having opened new scenes of action, an important change took place in the system of the allies. In consequence of the discontent which was manifested towards the Bourbon government in many parts of Spain, Leopold hesitated no longer in announcing and enforcing the rights of his family. To obviate the objection against uniting under one head the extensive dominions of Charles the fifth, he and his son Joseph solemnly relinquished their claims on the spanish succession, in favour of his second son the archduke Charles. The young prince was accordingly proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, and formally acknowledged by all the allied powers. He was treated at the imperial court with the formalities of a crowned head, and exercised his authority by creating several grandees of Spain. On the 19th of September he quitted Vienna, and traversed Germany in his way to England, where he was to join the armament prepared to realise his pretensions.

Marlborough was employed in arranging the winter quarters of

* We have been enabled to develope this curious transaction, by the letters of Mr. Stepney to Sir Charles Hedges, and count Auersperg to Mr. Stepney, between May and November 1703, in the state paper office. Also by the correspondence of Marlborough, and a letter from count Wratislaw to Marlborough, August 9, 1703.

his troops, when Charles arrived at Dusseldorf on the 16th of October. He therefore hastened to pay his respects, and convey to the young monarch the congratulations of the queen. Reaching Dusseldorf the same evening, he was admitted to a private audience, and treated with marks of the highest gratitude and regard. He concluded his address with observing, "I have just had the honour of putting your majesty in possession of Limburg." The king replied, "I hope to be yet more indebted to your valour for the reduction of other places to my obedience." An animated conversation ensued, and Charles finally taking from his side a sword richly set with diamonds said, "I am not ashamed to own that I am a poor prince, having no other inheritance than my cloak and my sword. My sword may be serviceable to your grace, and I hope you will not esteem it the less because I have worn it a day. I hoped to present it to you at the head of that gallant army with which you have performed such great actions." The duke respectfully kissed the hilt, and rejoined, "It acquires an additional value in my eyes, because your majesty has condescended to wear it; for it will always remind me of your just right to the spanish crown, and of my obligation to hazard my life and all that is dear to me, in rendering you the greatest prince of Christendom."*

As the duke had settled the disposition of winter quarters, and left the command of the troops to his brother general Churchill, he accompanied Charles to the Hague. Arriving on the 2nd of November he shared the honours which were paid to the young monarch, and was welcomed by every class with respect and applause. During his short stay he presented letters of congratulation from the queen, and in his audience of leave received from the king his portrait richly set in diamonds, accompanied with the most flattering expressions of kindness and regard.

These honours and distinctions were, however, far from being without alloy. The weakness and inconsistency of the dutch government, which had shackled his enterprising spirit, proved the source of new mortifications. Opdam, instead of being punished

* Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 280.

for his negligence, was, by private influence, reinstated in his command, and again sent to serve with the army, which had suffered by his misconduct. Slangenberg also renewed his clamours with redoubled violence, and found a party ready to second his cause, and re-echo his complaints.

The multiplied embarrassments which Marlborough had encountered in the course of the campaign, the malicious imputations with which he was assailed in Holland, the increasing violence of both parties in England, and the prospect of still greater contentions seem at length to have exhausted his patience. At this moment he had the additional mortification to find his army diminished by a draught of 2,000 men for the war in Portugal, which was ordered without his knowledge at the instigation of Nottingham. This measure drew on him a strong remonstrance from the dutch government, who considered such a breach of treaties as preparatory to a larger draught, if not the adoption of a defensive system in the Netherlands. The incident made a deep impression on his mind, from the mischiefs it was calculated to produce. In a letter to Godolphin he observes, "I cannot but say that the dutch argue very justly. If the queen can without their consent take these men, she may by the same reason recall the rest; and by the same reasoning they are at liberty to reduce as many as they please of their army."*

In the midst of this perplexity he found, to his surprise and vexation, that his friend Godolphin was alarmed by the incessant clamours against the system of war in the Netherlands, and became an advocate for defensive operations. These multiplied causes of disgust, confirmed him in a resolution, which he had before announced, of retiring from the command. His letters shew that he felt unusual impatience to return to England and realise his design of withdrawing from the cares and responsibility of public life. To Godolphin he observes, Hague, 19 October, "I find by the pensioner since my arrival, that he is apprehensive of my retiring. I have endeavoured to make him easy by telling

* Hague, October 19-30, 1703.

him that he has no reason to doubt my inclinations to serve as long as I can be capable of doing any good. But he has told me that I must allow him to speak very seriously on this subject, but I shall be careful in following your advice in not letting them know my intention."

" *Hague, Oct. 22, Nov. 2.*

" I do assure you that some expressions in your's of the 14th, from Newmarket, have given me a good deal of thought; for since you can be of opinion that the people here ought to be easy, though they should be obliged to make a defensive war, there will be many more of that opinion. I think I know these people, that whenever this opinion is put in practice, great numbers of them will be thinking of a peace. Were I not to see you very soon, I should now trouble you with my thoughts on this subject, for I think all depends upon it. You know my intentions of serving no more, so that I can the freer speak to you on this subject; but I think we are running into methods that will make France get the better of us."

Quitting Holland, Marlborough landed in England on the 10th of November, N. S. He had scarcely time to receive the welcome of his family, before he was dispatched to Portsmouth to compliment the king of Spain, and conduct him to Windsor, where he was to be introduced to the queen. Two days only were dedicated to courtly ceremonies, during which Marlborough had twice the honour to receive the future monarch as his guest, and the entertainment was graced with the presence of his royal mistress. On these occasions Charles treated the duchess with the same distinctions which he had already shown to her husband. When she offered him the basin and ewer, he took it from her hand and held it for the queen. On returning it to the duchess, he presented her with a ring of great value, which he had worn on his own finger.* Having concluded these formalities, Charles returned to Portsmouth, accompanied by the duke of Somerset, and without

* Cunningham, v. 1, p. 357.

delay embarked on board the Royal Catherine, which was to convey him to Lisbon.

Marlborough had scarcely reached England before the discontented tories resorted to one of the usual machinations of party, which was calculated to sow dissension in the court and shackle the operations of government. This was the revival of the bill against occasional conformity.

As the queen was known to be zealously inclined to the measure, and as both Marlborough and Godolphin had hitherto given it their strenuous support; their enemies naturally concluded that they could not oppose it without sacrificing their own principles, or offending their royal mistress; nor permit it to pass without depriving themselves of the aid which they drew from the whigs and moderate dissenters. Another mischief which this measure was likely to produce, had also probably not escaped the penetration of the movers; for as the whig zeal of the duchess was well known; a discussion, which must infallibly excite all the acrimony of party, could scarcely take place without creating irritation between her and the queen.

The situation and influence of the tories enabled them to revive this obnoxious act with peculiar effect. By the connivance of Nottingham it was announced in the gazette without the knowledge of Godolphin.* Under this apparent sanction of the government, it was received in the house of commons at the motion of Mr. Bromley. Being zealously supported not only by the tories, but by the non-jurors and jacobites, it was carried by a large majority, and transmitted to the lords.

The correspondence which occurred while the bill was pending, sufficiently shews the delicate predicament in which Marlborough and the treasurer were placed. Although the queen had been induced in her speech at the opening of parliament, to deprecate discussions which were likely to excite divisions and animosity, she was not the less favourably disposed towards a measure which

* Letter from Godolphin to the duchess.

appeared to give additional strength and security to the church. A letter from the queen to the duchess, which is printed in the *Conduct*, will prove the interest she took in its success, and the reluctance with which she refrained from giving it her public support, even after she had been persuaded to excuse the prince her husband from again voting for a law to which he was himself obnoxious. In reply to a long remonstrance from her favourite she observes, "To ease your mind, I must tell you that Mr. Bromley will be disappointed; for the prince does not go to the House when the bill of occasional conformity is brought in. But at the same time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse opinion if any of the lords are for it; for though I should have been very glad it had not been brought into the house of commons, because I would not have had any pretence given for quarrelling, I cannot help thinking, now 'tis as good as passed there, it will be better for the service to have it pass the house of lords too. I must own to you that I never cared to mention any thing on this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind; but since you have given me this occasion, I cannot forbear saying that I see nothing like persecution in this bill. You may think it is a notion lord Nottingham has put into my head, but upon my word it is my own thought."*

At the same time that the duchess thus ventured to combat the secret inclinations of the queen, she did not spare the feelings of her husband, but importuned him to make an open and direct opposition to a bill which would weaken the interest of the party on whom the perverseness of the tories had compelled him to rely. He was himself fully sensible of the injurious consequences which it would produce; yet he too highly respected the prejudices of his sovereign, and was too anxious to preserve his own consistency, to follow her advice. He adopted, however, the most prudent resolution which circumstances would permit, and thus apprised her of his design:

* *Conduct*, p. 166.

“ I do own a great deal of what you say is right ; but I can by no means allow that all the tory party are for king James, and consequently against the queen ; but the contrary, I think it is in her power to make use of almost all, but some of the heads, to the true interests of England, which I take to be the protestant succession, to the supporting of which, by the help of Almighty God, I will venture my last drop of blood.

“ As you are the only body that could have given me happiness, I am the more concerned we should differ so much in opinion. But as I am firmly resolved never to assist any jacobite whatsoever, or any tory that is for persecution, I must be careful not to do the thing in the world which my lord Rochester would most desire to have me do, which is to give my vote against this bill : but I do most solemnly promise that I will speak to nobody living to be for it ; and to show you that I would do any thing that were not a ruin to the queen, and an absolute destruction to myself to make you easy, at this time by what has been told me, the bill will certainly be thrown out, unless my lord treasurer and I will both speak to people and speak in the house, which I do assure you for myself I will not do.”

In consequence of the lukewarmness manifested by the two ministers, and the example of the prince of Denmark, the party against the bill in the house of peers exerted themselves with a decisive effect. The attack was commenced by Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, in an able speech, and he was zealously seconded by the whig chiefs. After a long and warm debate, it was lost by a majority of only twelve voices. Twenty-three peers of the tory party signed a protest, and among them we find the names of Marlborough and Godolphin, who evidently made this sacrifice of their feelings for the sake of preserving their consistency, and conciliating their former friends. They did not, however, gain their object ; for in the pamphlets of the day we find them accused of duplicity, and charged with defeating the measure by their lukewarmness and indirect solicitations.*

* Journals—Tindal—Correspondence of the queen and the duchess—MS. Narrative of the Duchess—and Conduct.

CHAPTER 20.

1704.

Melancholy situation of affairs abroad—Successes and plans of the french and bavarians—Intended invasion of Austria—State of the confederate forces in Germany—Grand design of Marlborough to lead an army into the empire—Secresy and address displayed in its execution—His mission to Holland, and negociations with the states—Return to England—Arrangements for the removal of Nottingham and for the appointment of Harley and St. John to the offices of secretary of state and secretary at war.

IN the preceding chapter we have seen that Marlborough quitted the continent with a determination to withdraw from the command; but on a calm and dispassionate consideration the temporary ebullitions of spleen and vexation gave way to nobler sentiments; and the full conviction that his own presence and exertions could alone obviate the dangers which threatened the civilised world, induced him to sacrifice all personal feelings to the public cause.

Marlborough saw the year close with the most gloomy aspect. The change, occasioned by the accession of Portugal and Savoy, had suspended not averted the peril. The french monarch looked eagerly forward to the return of the season, in the full confidence that a single campaign would reduce the emperor to submission, and break the bonds of that confederacy which had presumed to set bounds to his domination. In Hungary the insurrection assumed strength and consistency. Prince Ragotski, the leader of the malcontents, was joined by several powerful magnates, forced the imperial general, Sehlick, to retire to Presburg, and pouring his desultory hordes beyond the Mark, levied contributions in Moravia and Silesia, and spread alarm to the very gates of Vienna. By the possession of Landau and Brisach, the french had opened

a passage over the Rhine, and secured the means of pushing an army through the Black Forest into the heart of the empire. The elector of Bavaria was master of Ratisbon, Kempten, Kaufleuren, and Gravenbach, which commanded the country between the Iller and the Inn; and of Augsburg, which afforded a passage over the Leck. He also occupied Ulm with a strong garrison, took Passau and Lintz, the keys of Upper Austria, and was prevented from reducing Nordlingen and Nuremberg, only by the advance of winter. He thus held the course of the Danube from its source to the frontier of Austria, established a communication with the french armies on the Rhine, and the rebels in Hungary, and by these advantages joined to his central position, was enabled to awe the princes of the empire, and to penetrate almost without obstruction to the walls of Vienna. With an army of 45,000 men, he fixed his quarters in the vicinity of Ulm; from whence he could readily effect a junction with the french reinforcement, which early in the spring was to penetrate through the rugged country bordering the sources of the Danube.

The french court had exerted their customary activity in collecting means for the accomplishment of this decisive enterprise. Besides the army in the Netherlands under Villeroy, Tallard with 45,000 men was posted on the Upper Rhine, in a situation which enabled him at once to menace the circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, and open a passage into Bavaria. The Tyrol was exposed to the aggressions of the Italian army; and the most vigorous efforts were made to terminate the contest with the duke of Savoy, and clear the whole country between the frontier of Dauphinè and the Trentine Alps.

On the eve of so awful a crisis the defensive system of Germany was in the most deplorable state. Every exertion had been made to raise levies, and prepare Vienna for a siege; but with an impoverished country and an exhausted treasury every exertion was fruitless. Means and time were equally wanting to collect an army for the security of the austrian frontier; while the force which could be opposed to the elector of Bavaria, scarcely amounted to 20,000 men, and the army of the empire, which,

under the command of the margrave of Baden, was employed to guard the lines of Stolhoffen, was equally incompetent to maintain so important a barrier of the empire. The avenues of the Black Forest were principally confided to militia and peasantry, supported by a few regulars under general Stirum. A small body of dutch troops, amounting only to twelve battalions, was quartered at Rothweil, to cover Wirtemberg, and a few hessians and prussians were posted on the borders of the Rhine below Philipsburg.

Scarcely any hope remained of opposing the designs of France and Bavaria, and the fate of Europe appeared to depend on the first movement of their combined forces. Indeed we may with confidence assert, that if our great commander had executed his resolution of retiring from his irksome situation, the subversion of public and private liberty was inevitable.

Marlborough had duly appretiated the peril of the time, and before the close of the preceding campaign, had entered into a secret correspondence with Eugene, for the purpose of devising a remedy. He considered this as a crisis, which equally baffled the combinations of regular warfare, and the calculations of ordinary prudence; he was convinced that nothing but an effort bordering on rashness could save the emperor, and with him the members of the grand alliance from inevitable ruin. Sensible that all which is dear to man was at stake, he not only vanquished his own irritated feelings, but infused a bolder spirit into the timid mind of Godolphin, and awakened the whigs to the dangerous consequences of their impolitic clamours for a defensive system. Having thus weakened the vexatious opposition with which he had been so long harassed, he formed the bold design of trusting the protection of Holland and Flanders to the dutch army, and leaving in his rear the numerous fortresses and forces of the enemy, to hasten with all the disposable troops he could collect, to the quarter where the most pressing dangers were hourly accumulating.

In executing this extensive plan he had difficulties of no ordinary magnitude to encounter. He had not only to baffle the penetration of a vigilant enemy, who by a vigorous effort might

have arrested his course, but to extort the consent of a divided cabinet to an enterprise of imminent peril and indefinite extent. He had also to vanquish the opposition of the dutch, and persuade them to confide in their own resources; while so large a part of the army, which had hitherto formed their protection, was detached on a perilous, a distant, and perhaps a fatal expedition.

His plan, however, was matured and carried into effect with astonishing celerity, address, and secresy. Having completed his arrangements with Eugene, he persuaded Godolphin to forward his views without disclosing their whole extent, and trusted to the chance of events for the sanction of the queen, and the acquiescence of the cabinet. The primary object was, to obtain from parliament the aids which would enable him to profit by the recent changes in Italy and Portugal, and above all to procure an augmentation of forces sufficient for the relief of Austria and the empire. In this object, by his own exertions and those of his friends, he fully succeeded. The commons, in compliance with the recommendation of the queen, not only granted subsidies to carry the alliances with Portugal and Savoy into effect, but also consented to an augmentation of 10,000 men in the Netherlands, thus raising the force under the immediate command of Marlborough to 50,000. Adequate supplies were furnished for equipment, and to accelerate recruiting, the magistrates were armed with unusual powers.

It was next necessary to give a similar impulse to the most sluggish member of the confederacy. Accordingly, at the instigation of pensionary Heinsius, Marlborough was invited to Holland in the name of the states, that they might have the advantage of his advice in deliberating on the means of averting the dangers which threatened the common cause. He therefore quitted England on the 15th January, in a season of such intense cold, and tempestuous weather, that his yacht was the first vessel, which for six weeks had ventured to navigate the German sea. He landed at Rotterdam on the evening of the 18th, and profiting by the earliest tide, reached the Hague the ensuing day. To the pensionary he perhaps made the same communication as to Godolphin; but

to the states he suggested a plan equally calculated to conceal and promote his design, by proposing to open a campaign on the Moselle, with the british troops, and part of the foreign auxiliaries; while general Overkirk with the dutch, and the remainder of the auxiliaries, maintained a defensive system in the Netherlands. He did not at first succeed in obtaining the sanction of the states, even to this modified proposal, but he was ably seconded by the pensionary, who promised to employ his own influence and that of his confidential friends, in procuring the concurrence of the government, as soon as the intended plan should be developed. At the same time Marlborough induced the states to grant a subsidy of 200,000 crowns for enabling the margrave of Baden to keep the field, and a similar supply to the circle of Suabia, which was about to become the scene of hostilities. He induced them also to take into their pay 4,000 Wirtemberg troops, in the place of those who had been detached for the service of Portugal. Sensible also of the critical situation to which the duke of Savoy was reduced, he obtained a promise for the payment of the arrears due under the subsidiary treaty, and conveyed to him the assurance of so early and vigorous a campaign in Germany, as should prevent the french from increasing their forces in Italy.

Similar encouragement was held forth to the elector Palatine, who claimed large arrears from the dutch; and no expedient was neglected to satisfy the punctilious and grasping spirit of the king of Prussia, who seized every opportunity to enhance the price of his assistance. Marlborough warmly commended the zeal which his majesty had displayed for the common cause, flattered him with the title of deliverer of the empire, obtained an increase of his troops, and adroitly engaged him in a negotiation to detach the elector of Bavaria. He even affected to make a confidential communication of his designs, by specifying the intended disposition of the forces on the Moselle and the Meuse, and indicating the mode and time of operation.*

* Letters to the king of Prussia.

During this short expedition to Holland we find some letters of a political nature from the duke to Godolphin, and a few to the duchess, in which he adverts to the distressed situation of Germany, describes the difficulties he encountered, and dwells with concern and apprehension on the probable events of the passing year. The two letters in which he announces his return will suffice to shew the tone and tenour of his correspondence.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“Hague, Feb. 4, 1704.

“The wind being fair, I intend to be on board to-morrow morning early, so that I hope to be with you as soon as this letter, which makes me write to nobody but my dearest soul, in whom is all the pleasure of my life ; for when I am from you I see I cannot have any quiet. For this campaign I see so very ill a prospect that I am extremely out of heart. But God’s will be done ; and I must be, for this year very uneasy, for in all the other campaigns I had an opinion of being able to do something for the common cause ; but in this I have no other hopes, than that some lucky accident may enable me to do good. If this wind continues, I hope the king of Spain will make use of it, and that I shall have the happiness of being with you.”

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Hague, Feb. 8.

“I shall be sure to take the first wind that will carry me to sea, for I am very impatient to be with you, having finished every thing as far as this country is capable, for nobody here has power to conclude any thing ; but providence makes the wheel go round, and I hope the blessing of God will make us succeed much better than we can propose to ourselves.

“The news from Flanders says, the marshal de Villeroy was to be at Brussels the 20th of this month. If he should come, I hope he will not stay ; for our magazines will not be ready till the beginning of April, before which time these people have made me promise to be back, so that my stay in England is likely not to be

worth the crossing the seas twice ; but my desire of being with you and lady Marlborough is such, that I would come, although I were to stay but a day."

After a stay of only a few days, Marlborough hastened his return to England, where his presence was necessary to give motion to the whole machine of state. Arriving at Rotterdam on the 22nd of February, he embarked early the next morning with the first tide. But before he descended to the Brill, the yacht ran aground, and was left by the ebb. Being, however, unwilling to lose the favourable wind, he leaped into the first boat which appeared, and made to the Brill. He there re-embarked in the Dolphin, and after lying to at the mouth of the Meuse, to observe the transports, which were setting sail from Helvoet with the troops for Portugal, he continued his course to the english shore, landed at Gravesend about eight in the evening, and reached London early in the morning. He immediately waited on the queen, to communicate his arrangements. He not only obtained her approbation, but persuaded her to remit without delay 100,000 crowns, as the proportion of England to the circle of Suabia, and from the privy purse to advance the amount of the contingent which he had promised the margrave of Baden, and which was not comprised in the provisions of parliament.

His attention was also directed to the domestic arrangements, which the state of affairs required. It was not merely necessary to collect the means of action, but also to obviate the embarrassments which could not fail to arise, from the divided state of the cabinet, and the opposition of the high tories. Although Nottingham and his adherents did not openly join Rochester in his violent measures, and although they suffered the supplies to pass, they yet manifested their hostility by thwarting the bill for recruiting the army, and announced their dissatisfaction by a vehement protest. In consequence of this proceeding, and the refractory spirit they had shewn in the preceding year, a resolution was taken to remove the obnoxious secretary and some of his immediate dependents. Recent events contributed to reconcile the queen to the change, and render it satisfactory to the nation.

During the winter the discontents in Scotland had continued to spread, and gave rise to numerous plots and intrigues against the government. Among other machinations, a mysterious conspiracy was discovered, of which the principal mover was Simon Frazer, afterwards so notorious under the title of lord Lovat. The investigation instituted on the occasion, was conducted by Nottingham as secretary of state. The report which he submitted to parliament being severely scrutinised, he was accused of concealing the evidence, and attempting to quash the inquiry. His friends, who formed a majority in the house of commons, attempted to parry the imputation, by a vote, declaring that for his great ability and diligence as well as for his adherence to the church of England, he had merited the trust reposed in him by the queen. The same influence enabled them to pass the report with a simple vote of thanks to the queen, for the information it conveyed. But in the house of lords, where the whig interest was more powerful, Nottingham was vigorously assailed. Several votes implying a censure on his conduct, were with difficulty evaded, and a strong protest was entered by twenty-two peers, among whom we distinguish the principal whig leaders. It concluded with a resolution, declaring that dangerous plots had existed in Scotland, and that the cause of these troubles was, the want of a settlement entailing that crown on the house of Hanover.

The attack against the noble secretary, of which these accusations were the harbingers, was not perfectly matured, when Marlborough took his final departure for the continent, on the 8-19th of April. Amidst the hurry of his journey and the bustle of military preparations, it deeply occupied his thoughts, and forms one of the leading topics in his correspondence with Godolphin. To preserve, therefore, the clue of this political intrigue, we shall here anticipate the period of its accomplishment, by tracing the progress and result.

Conscious of the predicament in which he was placed, Nottingham himself became the aggressor, hoping that his influence with the queen, and the strength of his party in the commons would intimidate the treasurer during the absence of Marlborough.

His design was not concealed from the general, as we find by a letter to Godolphin, dated Harwich, April 8, 1704.

“ I could not leave this place without acquainting you with what has been told me respecting lord Nottingham. The speaker will be able to let you know how much of it may be true. I am assured that he tells his party, that the queen is desirous to do every thing that would give them satisfaction, but that she is hindered by you and me; that he is so convinced we shall in a very short time put all the business into the hands of the whigs, that if he cannot get such alterations made in the cabinet council as he thinks absolutely necessary for the safety of the church, he would then quit; that he would speak very plainly to you and myself before I left England, and that his opinion was, that in the next session, they should tack to the land tax the bill of occasional conformity, and that of accounts, which was the only way of making them pass the house of lords; for then you and I would be zealous for it, notwithstanding our inclinations. If all this should be true, as I really believe it is, he is in my opinion doing her majesty all the hurt that he is capable of.”

Before the close of the session, Nottingham carried this plan into execution. He addressed himself to Godolphin, declared his inability to coalesce with those whom he called his new friends, the whigs, and announced his resolution to retire from office, if they were not totally excluded. Finding his arguments ineffectual, he appealed to the queen herself, urging the impossibility of conducting the government with a heterogeneous mixture of whigs and tories, and pressing her majesty to chuse one of the two parties, and abide by that choice. If she preferred the tories, he pledged himself for the continuance of their zeal and services; if the whigs, he held forth the prospect of a vigorous opposition from his party, whose influence was paramount in the house of commons. In conclusion, he required the removal of the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the privy council, and tendered his own resignation, if his demand was rejected.*

* Letter from lord Godolphin to the duchess, without date.

The queen, unwilling to lose a minister whose principles she cordially approved, soothed his dissatisfaction, and suspended his design. But after so decisive a step the breach was irreparable. Nottingham soon renewed his importunities, and persisted till he offended the queen, who was too jealous of her authority to submit to the dictates even of a tory. She recurred to Godolphin, and by his advice, announced to the secretary her acquiescence in his resignation. He was confounded by her decision, and hesitated in executing his threat. But the queen having dismissed his two friends, the earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour, he considered their fate as indicative of his own; and on the 18th of May he sullenly retired from office.

The queen communicated this transaction to the duchess in a style, which shews how highly she resented the presumption of Nottingham.

“ Kensington, Thursday morning.

*“ I am just come to this place to get a little air and quiet. I am told by a very good hand that the queen has sent a message to lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour which they will not like. Sure this will convince Mrs. Freeman that I never had any partiality to any of these persons; for if that had been so, this would certainly never have been done. Something more of this nature it is believed will soon happen, that will not be disagreeable to Mrs. Freeman.”**

But although Marlborough and Godolphin had united in removing a minister with whom they were unable to act, they were far from coalescing with the whigs, or giving additional weight to a party of which they never ceased to be jealous.

While the change was in agitation, Marlborough fixed his attention on Mr. Harley, then speaker, to succeed Nottingham in the office of secretary. He seems to have been influenced in this

* This note is written with affected obscurity, to conceal the names, which are indicated by ciphers.

choice by a knowledge of Harley's financial talents, by the confidence derived from long habits of intimacy, and similarity of political principle, and finally by a sense of gratitude for the service which he had rendered, in disclosing the secret cabals of Nottingham,* and promoting the dismissal of lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour. Another motive for the introduction of Harley into so important an office, was derived from the interest which he possessed with a considerable party in the house of commons, who professed to act on the principles of moderation and independence, and to regard no other object than the public service. This party had been gradually formed under the auspices of the speaker, and by his management had risen into consideration. It was principally composed of those who from patriotism, pique, or love of change, withdrew from the two great contending factions; and such was the address of the leader in making proselytes, that although himself connected with the dissenters, he acquired the confidence of churchmen; and frequently united at his hospitable board the ministers and members of both persuasions.

Though a man so industrious in acquiring influence could not regard the honours of office with an indifferent eye; he at first declined the offer of the secretaryship, declaring that he was unwilling to fill a place, to the duties of which he had not been accustomed. With difficulty he even accepted a situation in the privy council. After some hesitation, either real or affected, he yielded to the importunities of Marlborough and Godolphin, and the solicitations of the queen; and on the 18th of May, his promotion was announced in the gazette.†

During this negotiation the other vacant places were filled,

* In a letter to the duchess, lord Godolphin observes, "I have not yet seen many people since I came, but enough to find that the hot angry people continue obstinate in endeavouring to give all the disturbance they can. The speaker is very industrious, and has found out things two or three several ways, which may chance to make some of them uneasy."

† Godolphin's private letters to the duchess—Marlborough's private correspondence—Conduct, p. 144—Other side of the question, p. 215.

The earl of Kent, who ranked as a moderate whig, was appointed lord Chamberlain, and Sir Thomas Mansell, the friend of the speaker, was made comptroller of the household. Another promotion, which took place at the same time was, the transfer of the secretaryship of war from Blathwayte to Henry St. John. This youthful statesman, who now commenced his public career, was the friend of Harley, and by him appears to have been introduced to the notice of Marlborough. His splendid and premature talents soon strengthened the impression made by his captivating amenity of manners, and he rapidly ingratiated himself with his noble patron, by an affectation of the most zealous attachment. Marlborough took the warmest interest in his promotion, and recommended him to Godolphin as one on whose integrity he might securely rely. "I am very glad" he says "you are so well pleased with Mr. St. John's diligence, and I am very confident he will never deceive you."*

Marlborough was so impatient for the appointment of Harley, that in several of his letters he requests Godolphin to take no excuse, but to insist on his acceptance of the seals, as soon as Nottingham was dismissed. From Vorst, May 7, he wrote, "By what you say to me in your last, I take it for granted next post to hear that lord Nottingham has given up the seals, which makes me beg that you will take no excuse from the speaker, but that he must immediately come in."

On the 2nd of June he observes, "Now that the speaker is in the privy council, I hope it will not be long before you will have the ease of having him in the place of lord Nottingham."

At length when his wishes were gratified, we find him expressing his satisfaction to Harley himself.

"June 1-12. I am favoured with your letter of the 19-30, and hope the office you have entered upon will be no less agreeable to you, than your service therein advantageous to the public; to both of which I am assured her majesty has

* Burkeim, July 13, 1704.

especial regard in the choice she has been pleased to make of a person so fitly qualified, by experience and fidelity, for a post of that importance and trust. In my own particular I am sensible of the advantage I shall reap by it, in having so good a friend near her majesty's person, to represent in the truest light my faithful endeavours for her service, and the advantage of the public, which shall always be my sole aim wherever I am, and wherein I must very much depend on your good advice and direction for my guidance."

Many of the zealous whigs were highly offended at these appointments, which they regarded as a slight to their party; and their complaints were imparted to Marlborough by his son in law, lord Sunderland. But he had still more vehement expostulations to encounter from his duchess. She depicted the attachment and zeal professed by Harley, as mere artifices to clothe his consummate subtlety; and her keen sagacity equally discovered the insatiable ambition and party zeal, which in St. John was cloaked with the appearance of unaffected candour, and careless vivacity. She conjured her husband to moderate his confidence towards two statesmen, whom she regarded as doubtful friends, if not dangerous enemies. Marlborough, however, neglected these warnings, from the honourable motive of regarding merit and abilities in the choice of his confidants, and from a native magnanimity of character, which was as unsuspicious as it was itself above suspicion. He thus unconsciously prepared the way for his subsequent mortification and final disgrace.

CHAPTER 21.

1704.

Arrangements of Marlborough for the campaign—Returns to the continent—Difficulties in obtaining aid from the States—Commences his march towards the Danube—Gradual developement of his plans—Arrival at Mentz—March of french reinforcements into Bavaria—Negligence of the Margrave of Baden in permitting their junction with the elector.

DURING his short stay in England, Marlborough exerted himself in dispatching the recruits and reinforcements to the continent, and maturing the military arrangements. Conscious how much his future success depended on secrecy, he professed in England, as in Holland, his design of acting on the Moselle; and even to the queen and lord Godolphin, he appears to have made only a partial disclosure of his views.

Through the agency of prince Eugene, with whom he had secretly arranged the whole plan of the campaign,* he induced the emperor to write a letter to the queen, claiming assistance proportionate to the magnitude of his danger; and on the 2nd of April the imperial minister made a similar appeal in the name of his master. On this ground Marlborough procured a general instruction from the cabinet, which is dated the 4th, empowering him to repair to Holland, and concert with the states such measures as should be deemed proper for relieving the emperor, and reducing the elector of Bavaria.†

* Letters from Eugene to Marlborough, in the Blenheim Papers, also Vie du Prince Eugene, t. 2, p. 156.

† Instructions to John duke of Marlborough, April 4, 1704, M. P.

Even the partial hints which thus transpired, of a vigorous effort in Germany, appear to have awakened party jealousy. The high tories renewed their clamours against the system of offensive war, and dwelt with their usual emphasis on the hazard of distant enterprises, and the impolicy of continental connections.

Despising, however, these idle declamations, Marlborough hastened to fulfil his instructions, and to prepare for his momentous undertaking. On the 19th of April, N. S. he embarked at Harwich with his brother, general Churchill, the earl of Orkney, and other officers; landed at Maeslandsluys, and reached the Hague on the 21st. His first care was to combat the constitutional tardiness of the margrave of Baden. He affected to adopt a plan, which that prince had furnished for a campaign on the Moselle, communicated the arrangements which were then pending with the states, and urged the necessity of an early and vigorous effort against the elector of Bavaria, because he should himself be obliged to return to the Netherlands towards the end of July. The next object was, to complete the dispositions which he had been compelled to leave unfinished in his recent visit to the Hague. Still, however, he found extreme difficulty in prompting a timid and commercial people, whose whole views were confined to temporary safety, to engage even in the modified plan which he had hitherto suggested, for an expedition to the Moselle. The design was opposed with peculiar warmth and pertinacity by the provinces of Zealand and Friesland.

Marlborough held several discussions with the deputies of the states, but with little effect.

He observes to Godolphin, April 11-22: "The measures they are willing to take here for this campaign, in my opinion, are very wrong; for they would have an army on the Moselle of only 15,000 men, and the rest in Flanders, without any design but that of taking such advantage as the enemy should give. I am sure if I cannot prevail with them to change this measure, I shall have very little heart to serve."

After passing several days in combating the alarms of some, and the factious opposition of others, he resolved to extort that aid

from their fears, which he could not obtain from their public spirit, by declaring his intention to lead the english troops alone to the Moselle.

“ I am afraid,” he feelingly writes to the duchess, April 17-28, “ this world is made more for trouble than happiness ; for at this time I am hagged out of my life, so that I long extremely for Monday, which is the day I intend to leave this place. I shall go to the army on the Meuse for some days, and when I have put the english on their march for the Moselle, I shall then go myself to Coblentz, to take care that the cannon and other things that are there may be forthwith sent to Treves.”

On the ensuing day he at length developed a part of his plan to Godolphin :

“ By the next post I shall be able to let you know what resolutions I shall bring these people to ; for I have told them that I will leave this place on Saturday. My intentions are to march all the english to Coblentz, and to declare here that I intend to command on the Moselle ; but when I come there to write to the states, that I think it absolutely necessary for saving the empire, to march with the troops under my command, and to join those in Germany, that are in her majesty’s and the dutch pay, in order to take measures with prince Louis for the speedy reducing of the elector of Bavaria. The army I propose to have there, will consist of upwards of 40,000 men. If I should act in any other manner than what I now tell you, my design would be immediately known to the french, and these people would never consent to let so many troops go so far from their frontier ; for the preservation of which and their garrisons, I propose to leave 10 battalions and 110 squadrons, so that I should have with me 46 battalions and 60 squadrons, paid by England and Holland. What I now write I beg may be known to nobody but her majesty and the prince.”

At length he formally announced to the states the resolution which he had before communicated to individuals. On the 1st of May, he writes to Godolphin : “ By the advice of my friends that I advise with here, I have this afternoon declared to the deputies of the states my resolution of going to the Moselle, and that I would

leave this place on Monday. There having been some speeches in the states general, particularly by some of the Zealanders, that it was not safe to let their troops go so far from their frontier, my friends were of opinion that I ought not to consult the states any farther, than to declare my resolution of serving there. I shall not know till to-morrow how far they will be satisfied with this. * * * * Since I have no thought in this matter but what is for the queen's service and the public good, I do no ways doubt but her majesty will approve it; for I am very sensible that I take a great deal upon me. But should I act otherwise, the empire would be undone, and consequently the confederacy."

He adds, "When I come to Philipsburg, if the french shall have joined any more troops to the elector of Bavaria, I shall make no difficulty of marching to the Danube. I shall be, as in all things else, extremely glad to receive your thoughts on all this matter."

The event answered his expectations. His declaration silenced the clamours of faction, and operated on the fears of the timid; and in a formal conference with the states general, on the 4th of May, he obtained powers, which he deemed sufficient for the accomplishment of his design. He communicated the result to Godolphin in a tone of reviving confidence:

"April 24. I reckon to be with the english troops at Mentz the 6th of June, this style, and to join the hessians and luneburgers about Philipsburg, and then to take my measures for joining the twelve battalions of the dutch that are on the Danube. I have it also in my power to have the 7,000 palatines and 4,000 wirtemburgers, that are paid by the dutch. Before I come to Coblentz, I intend to send an officer to prince Louis of Baden, to concert such measures as may enable us to act as soon as I shall come on the Rhine. I shall also send to prince Eugene, who is to command on the Danube. I think the states have given me sufficient power to act all this, without acquainting them with the particulars. In the conference I had yesterday with them, they assured me they should be satisfied with whatever I should

think right for the public service, and they would write to M. Almelot,* to assist me in every thing."

Besides the reinforcement of auxiliary troops, to which the duke here alludes, he also persuaded the states to supply the train of artillery, ammunition, and other military stores for the campaign. At the same time he had successfully negotiated with the court of Prussia, and procured the necessary facilities for transporting his magazines to Coblentz. With that indefatigable activity of mind, which can pursue the most extensive combinations, without neglecting subordinate details, he superintended in person the collection and embarkation of these necessary requisites. He saw also the reinforcements which had recently arrived from England, commence their march for the general rendezvous, under the command of his brother, general Churchill.

Thus did this able negotiator and profound statesman, as well as great commander, wield all the jarring interests of a heterogeneous confederacy: thus did he turn even the alarms of the timid, the clamours of the factious, and the views of the interested, to the accomplishment of the boldest and most adventurous project, which in modern times had ever been conceived by a general who was responsible for his actions, and limited in his authority.

The duke had departed from England under the pressure of domestic chagrin, derived from some petty bickerings with the duchess. At this period a reconciliation not only seems to have taken place; but in the warmth of returning tenderness, she even testified a wish to accompany him during the campaign, and to soothe his anxiety by her presence. His reply shews how intimately the affections of the man were, in his bosom, blended with the virtues of the hero.

" *Hague, April 24-May 5.*

"Your dear letter of the 15th came to me but this minute. My lord treasurer's letter in which it was inclosed, by some mistake

* One of the dutch deputies employed on military affairs in Germany.

was sent to Amsterdam. I would not for any thing in my power it had been lost ; for it is so very kind, that I would in return lose a thousand lives if I had them to make you happy. Before I sat down to write this letter, I took your's that you wrote at Harwich out of my strong box and have burnt it ; and if you will give me leave it will be a great pleasure to me to have it in my power to read this dear dear letter often, and that it may be found in my strong box when I am dead. I do this minute love you better than ever I did before. This letter of your's has made me so happy, that I do from my soul wish we could retire, and not be blamed. What you propose as to coming over, I should be extremely pleased with ; for your letter has so transported me, that I think you would be happier in being here than where you are ; although I should not be able to see you often. But you will see by my last letter, as well as this, that what you desire is impossible ; for I am going up into Germany, where it would be impossible for you to follow me ; but love me as you now do, and no hurt can come to me. You have by this kindness preserved my quiet, and I believe my life ; for till I had this letter, I have been very indifferent of what should become of myself. I have pressed this business of carrying an army into Germany, in order to leave a good name behind me, wishing for nothing else but good success. I shall now add, that of having a long life, that I may be happy with you."

To prevent the restraints derived from the presence of the field deputies, Marlborough had confined his demand of reinforcements to the auxiliaries in the pay of the states. To obviate also the obstructions which might arise from foreign officers, he obtained for his brother the rank of general, with the command of the british infantry ; and Overkirk, who had been involved in some dispute with general Churchill, relative to precedence, was left with the dutch troops, and the remainder of the auxiliaries, to guard the frontier, and secure the conquests of the preceding campaign.

Having completed all his preparations, he quitted the Hague in the evening of the 5th of May, and proceeded in a yacht to Utrecht. In his progress to the army, he spent a social day at Vorst, the seat of the earl of Albemarle. Here we find that while the

fate of Europe hung on his projected expedition, the internal politics of England did not the less occupy his attention. We observe also that the spleen and querulousness which had hitherto marked his correspondence, began to give way to elevated hopes, and renewed confidence. He quitted this hospitable mansion at break of day, on the 7th of May, and hastening his journey by Ruremond, reached Maestricht on the 10th. Here he continued till the 14th, actively employed in assembling and organising the army, superintending the formation of magazines, and pressing the march of the troops to the place of rendezvous. The labours of a single day will suffice to shew his activity, both of body and mind. At Ruremond he inspected the construction of a bridge for the passage of the troops over the Meuse; in the morning he reviewed the first line of his army, and the second in the afternoon; and in the intervals not only gave the necessary orders for the troops under his immediate command, but dispatched instructions directing the generals posted at Mentz, Rothweil, and the distant parts of Germany, to hold themselves in readiness for taking the field.

Having set the different columns in motion, and left a garrison of six regiments of british infantry and four squadrons of cavalry to secure Maestricht, Marlborough departed on the 16th, and on the 18th reached Bedburg, which had been fixed as the place of rendezvous. Here he found the army assembled under general Churchill, amounting to 51 battalions and 92 squadrons, including 16,000 english. To these were to be united in the course of the march, the troops of Prussia, Luneburg, and Hesse, quartered on the Rhine, and the eleven dutch battalions, stationed at Rothweil.*

On the 19th he commenced that celebrated expedition, which

* In addition to the letters of the duke, and the printed authorities often quoted, we have been aided in describing the operations of this campaign by a very interesting journal, kept by the duke's chaplain, Mr. Hare, afterwards bishop of Chichester. This journal was compiled from personal observations and official documents, and submitted to the inspection of the duke himself, as we learn from a letter written towards the close of the campaign by his secretary, Mr. Cardonnel, to secretary Harley, which is preserved in the State Paper Office.

was pregnant with such stupendous events. Encamping on the 20th at Kerpen, he received an express from Overkirk, pressing him to halt, because Villeroy, with 36 battalions and 45 squadrons, had quitted the lines, crossed the Meuse on the preceding day at Namur, and threatened Huy. At the same moment letters arrived from the margrave of Baden and count Wratislaw, stating that Tallard had made a movement, as if intending to cross the Rhine, and urging him to hasten his march towards the lines of Stolhoffen. Marlborough was not diverted by these applications from the prosecution of his grand design. Conscious that the army of Villeroy would be too much reduced to undertake offensive operations, by the detachments which had already been made towards the Rhine, and those which must follow his own march, he halted only a day to quiet the alarms of Overkirk. To satisfy also the margrave, he ordered the troops of Hompesch and Bulow to draw towards Philipsburg, though with private injunctions not to proceed beyond a certain distance. He even exacted a promise to the same effect from count Wratislaw, who at this juncture reached the camp to attend him during the whole campaign.

On the following day he reached Kalsecken and began to develope a part of his plan. He wrote to the States expressing his conviction that no danger was to be apprehended on the side of the Netherlands, while his own march so strongly engaged the attention of the enemy. Drawing an argument from the strength of Villeroy, and the probability of his advance to the Moselle, he also pressed for further reinforcements, to save his own army from being overwhelmed by superior numbers, and represented that Overkirk could readily supply the deficiency by drafts from the neighbouring garrisons. The troops having proceeded in their march through Merkheim to Sinzig, where they arrived on the 23rd, Marlborough departed to inspect the fortifications of Bonn, as if he designed to establish a place of arms for a campaign on the Moselle. Here he received intelligence that Tallard had passed the Rhine near Brisach on the 12th of May, and after pushing a reinforcement of 10,000 men with a considerable supply of ammunition and stores, through the defiles near Freyburg to join

the elector of Bavaria, had resumed his former position in the vicinity of Strasburg. He was apprised also that Villeroy, with the best of his troops, was hastening towards the Moselle.

This intelligence induced Marlborough to renew his appeal to the States for succour, and to accelerate his march to the Danube. On the 25th he advanced with the cavalry, in the direction of Coblenz, leaving his brother to follow with the infantry and artillery. In his letters we trace the promptitude of his intelligence and the rapidity and combination of his movements. We find him also confidently anticipating success, and testifying the utmost satisfaction, in having already suspended the advance of the elector of Bavaria to Vienna.

At Coblenz his army traversed the Moselle and the Rhine on the 26th of May, while he paid a visit to the elector of Treves at Ehrenbreitstem. Here, as elsewhere, he was received with respect and admiration; every class, from the subject to the sovereign, vied in expressions of gratitude and joy, and his march resembled rather a triumphal procession, than the movement of an army to the conflict. From Coblenz he sent his baggage and artillery up the Rhine to Mentz, and again led the advance with his cavalry. His arrangements were equally adapted to gain time and spare his troops. He moved at the first dawn of the morning, and reached his intended camp before the heat became oppressive, so that the men were as much refreshed by a rest of several hours as by the halt of a day.

From Broubach on the 27th of May he acquainted the king of Prussia with his progress, announced the junction of the french reinforcement with the elector of Bavaria, and earnestly requested a further aid of prussian troops, to whose bravery he paid a distinguished compliment. He had here the satisfaction of receiving the warmest testimony of gratitude from the imperial court, and of finding that his appeal to the States was zealously seconded by the dutch generals.

To the duchess he exultingly writes, Broubach, May 16-27: "If flattery could make me happy, count Wratislaw, who came to me yesterday, has said so much from the emperor, that I am

ashamed to repeat it to you; but I hope the queen will find the good effects of it; for it is certain, if these troops I bring had not come to his assistance, he would have run great risk of losing his crown, which he seems very sensible of.

“ I have also the satisfaction of receiving marks of the friendship of the dutch generals in Flanders; for I had an express yesterday from M. Overkirk to acquaint me they had writ to the States to desire they might immediately have power to send me twenty squadrons of horse, and eight regiments of foot; for they were of opinion that no success in Flanders could make amends for any ill accident that might happen to me for want of having more troops. I know you are so concerned in any thing that makes me easy or uneasy, that I would not omit letting you know this; for though the ignorance of the States may hinder any more troops coming to me, yet I am very much pleased with the expression of friendship the generals have made me.”

Reaching Cassel, a suburb of Mentz, on the 29th he halted a day to refresh the cavalry, who were much fatigued by their constant march. In this interval, he was hospitably received at Mentz by the elector, in whose presence the troops were reviewed.

The elector was particularly struck with their cleanly and neat appearance, and alluding to an entertainment which was to be given to the officers, observed, “ these gentlemen seem to be all dressed for the ball.”*

Before he marched, Marlborough received information that the States had consented to reinforce his army with 20 squadrons and 8 battalions of danish auxiliaries. But his satisfaction at this news was counterbalanced by intelligence, that the margrave of Baden had not only suffered the french succours to join the elector of Bavaria without obstruction, but had also neglected a favourable opportunity of defeating the enemy even after the junction.

The elector and Marsin had broken up from their camp at Ulm with 35,000 men, and on the 17th of May drew towards the head of the Danube to receive the expected succours. On their ap-

* Hare's Journal.

proach, general Thungen, who commanded the German troops between the Danube and the Lake of Constance, withdrew towards Rothweil, where he was joined by the dutch and a body of Wirtemberg cavalry. On the 14th he was reinforced by the margrave of Bareith and general Stirum, with 14,000 men, from the circle of Franconia.

These generals being thus at the head of 30,000 men, proposed to attack the elector, who was then posted behind Villingen, and would doubtless have prevented the junction of the reinforcements which were then filing through the defiles to the east of Freyburg. At this moment, however, their design was suspended by an order from the margrave of Baden, enjoining them to wait his arrival. Apprised of the enemy's motions, he quitted the lines of Stollhoffen on the 17th, and hastening to the camp at Rothweil, was followed by seven regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. The junction being effected, he on the evening of the 19th approached the electoral camp at Villingen. Unfortunately, the time which had been lost in waiting his arrival, had enabled the french reinforcements to accomplish their passage; and on the 20th the enemy hastily decamping, withdrew through Hufflingen, towards Engen.

The enemy being burthened with a long line of carriages, an active general might yet have remedied the mischief of the delay, by seizing the pass of Stochach, which would have cut off their retreat; and as they were totally in want of bread, would have left them no resource except to surrender at discretion. The margrave indeed wanted not skill and vigilance to perceive, but activity to seize the advantage. He crossed the Danube at Duttlingen, and advanced to Leptingen at the same time that the enemy reached Engen; yet in this situation he suffered them to anticipate him at the pass of Stochach, and after a brisk cannonade they filed off without obstruction to Saulgen. Having thus permitted his prey to escape, he fell back to Mosskirk, and on the 28th of May took up his position at Rietlingen.*

* Hare's Journal—Memoires de Tallard, passim—Histoire de Marlborough, t. 1, p. 288—291.

While he remained at Mentz, Marlborough acquainted the landgrave of Hesse, with his intention of proceeding farther into Germany, to the relief of the emperor, and persuaded that prince to send the artillery which he had provided for the expected operations on the Moselle to Manheim, that it might be ready for the siege of Landau, or any other enterprise of advantage to the common cause. He also summoned the prince of Hesse, Bulow, and Hompesch to Mentz, to receive the necessary directions for the junction of the forces under their command with the main army. He took measures also for the regular payment of his troops. "I send to-morrow to Frankfort," he writes to Godolphin, "to see if I can take up a month's pay for the english, and shall draw the bills on Mr. Sweet; for notwithstanding the continual marching, the men are extremely pleased with this expedition, so that I am sure you will take all the care possible that they may not want."*

* Mentz, May 18-29, 1704.

CHAPTER 22.

1704.

Marlborough reaches the Neckar—Direction of his march towards the Danube—Counter movements of the enemy—Interviews of Marlborough with prince Eugene and the margrave of Baden—Disposition of the command, and plan of operations—Eugene heads the army on the Rhine, and the margrave shares the command with Marlborough—Failure of the dutch generals in their attempt to force the french lines—The emperor offers to Marlborough a principality of the empire—Junction of the armies under Marlborough and the margrave—Their arrival and commencement of operations on the Danube.

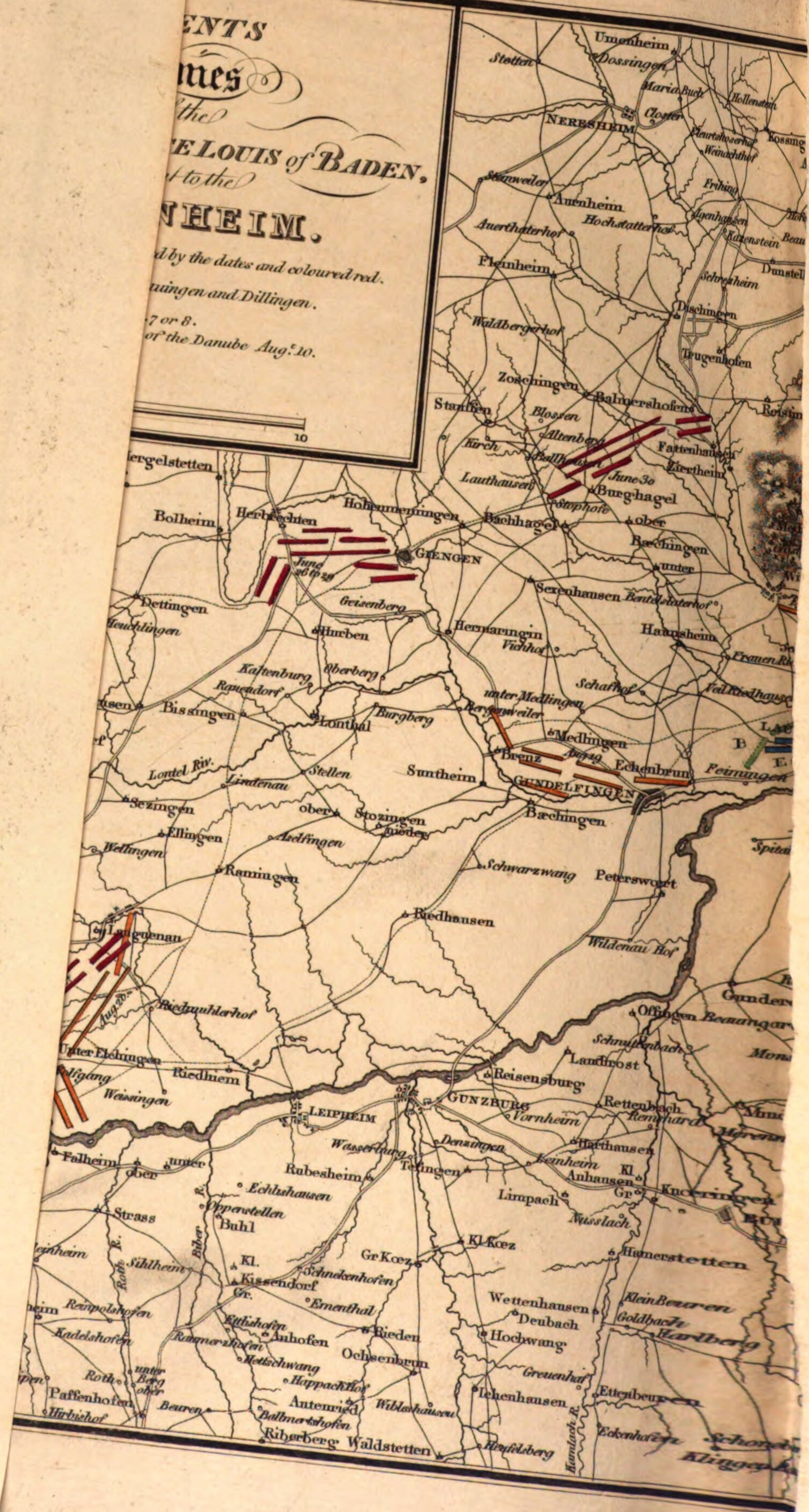
THE next point to which Marlborough directed his march was Ladenburg, where he had previously ordered bridges to be constructed for the passage of the Neckar. Here he arrived on the 3rd of June. Notwithstanding all the cares which weighed on his mind, and the pomp with which he was surrounded, his thoughts still dwelt on the endearments of home, and the society of his family and friends. The duchess having earnestly repeated her request to join him, he replied :

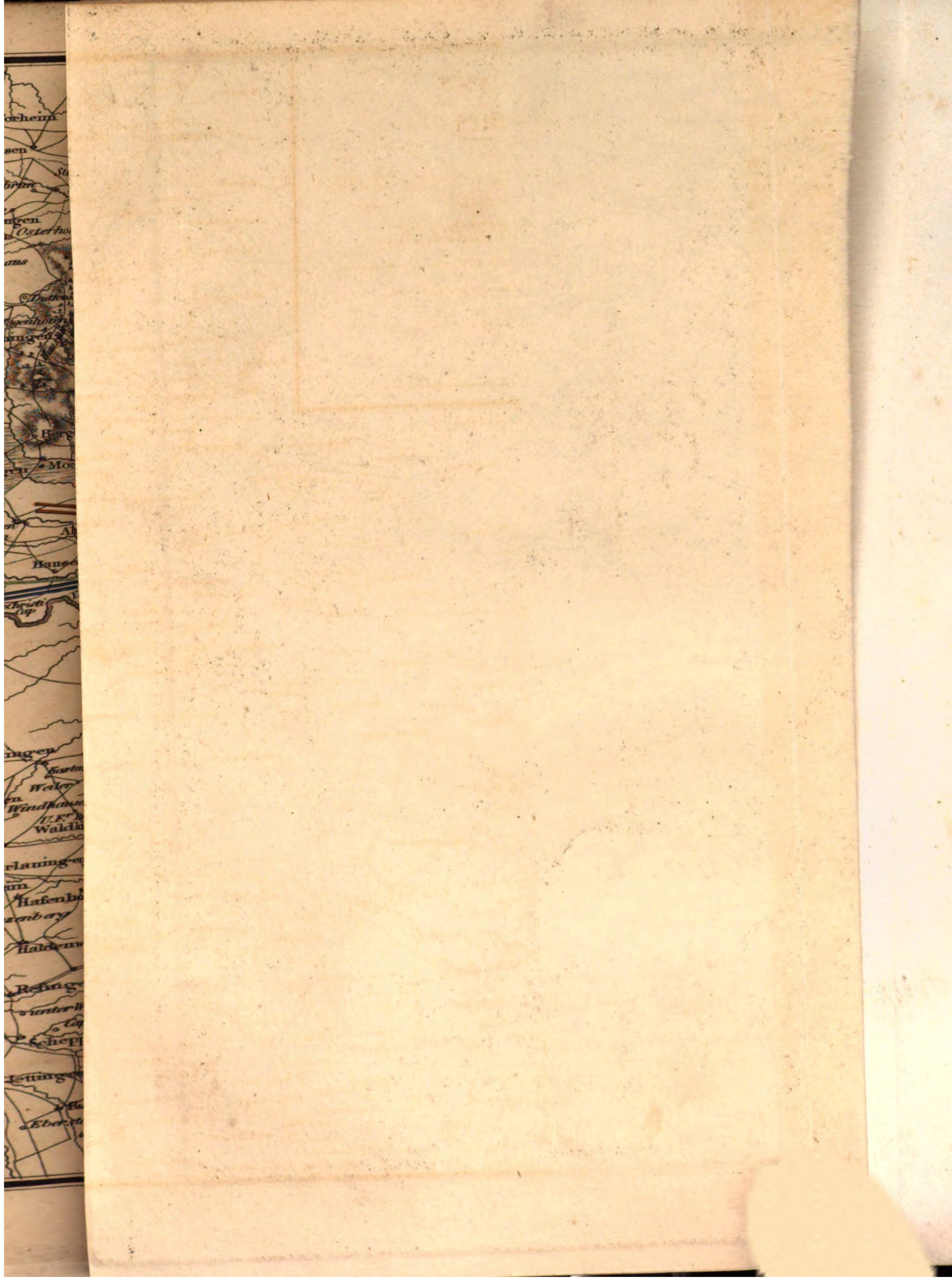
“ *Weinheim, May 22—June 2.*

“ I take it extreme kindly that you persist in desiring to come to me, but I am sure when you consider that three days hence will be a month, that the troops have been in a continual march to get hither; and we shall be a fortnight longer before we shall be able to get to the Danube, so that you could hardly get to me and back again to Holland, before it would be time to return into England. Besides, my dear soul, how could I be at any ease; for if we should not have good success, I could not put you into any place where you would be safe.”

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"I am now in a house of the elector palatine's, that has a prospect over the finest country that is possible to be seen. I see out of my chamber window the Rhine and the Neckar, and his two principal towns of Mannheim and Heidelberg; but would be much better pleased with the prospect of St. Alban's, which is not very famous for seeing far."

To Godolphin he briefly communicates his situation and ulterior views:

"Ladenburg, May 24—June 4."

"The cannon and infantry being six days march behind me, and the troops of Luneburg, Holland, and Hesse, being in several quarters, I shall halt here to-morrow, to give the necessary orders, and then shall advance towards the Danube, with what troops I have here, leaving the english and cannon to be brought up by my brother, and the danes by the duke of Wirtemberg. I hope in eight days to meet with prince Louis and prince Eugene. I am afraid the first will not go to the Rhine, he being, as I am told, desirous to stay on the Danube. When I see them, you shall be sure to know what we have concerted."

Hitherto his progress had held all Europe in awful anxiety, and had not only suspended the movements of the elector of Bavaria, but had perplexed and confounded the french commanders. As his arrival at Coblenz had spread apprehension of an attack by the Moselle, so his advance to Mentz had seemed to threaten Alsace. His subsequent progress afforded no precise indication of his design; while the construction of a bridge over the Rhine at Philipsburg, and the advance of the hessian artillery to Mannheim, seemed preparatory to the siege of Landau. Villeroy, who had followed him from the Meuse, drew an additional reinforcement from Flanders; while Tallard descended to the Lauter, that they might readily unite their forces to protect Alsace, or create a diversion by an offensive movement into the empire. Their penetration was however baffled, and Tallard, hitherto fertile in projects, was bewildered amidst doubt, difficulty, and conjecture.

With such skill and science had this enterprise been concerted, that at the very moment when it assumed a specific direction, the

enemies were no longer enabled to render it abortive. As the march was now to be bent towards the Danube, notice was given for the prussians, palatines, and hessians, who were stationed on the Rhine, to order their march so as to join the main body in its progress. At the same time directions were sent to accelerate the advance of the danish auxiliaries, who were marching from the Netherlands.

After traversing the Neckar, Marlborough again moved on the 6th of June, and passing through Wisloch, encamped on the 7th at Erpingen, having been joined in the route by several bodies of auxiliaries. At this, as at other periods, he was particularly solicitous to spare the people whom he came to defend. Contrary to the custom of the french and germans, who subsisted their armies at the expense of the country, he took effectual care that the troops should be regularly paid, and enjoined the treasurer to secure a month's subsistence, and establish ample credit in advance. Similar orders were forwarded to the danes, who were more likely to commit excesses than the forces under his own immediate inspection. By these precautions he conciliated the inhabitants, and obtained a more regular supply of provisions than could have been extorted by any measure of severity. Sensible also how deeply the soldier feels the attention and sympathy of his general, he wrote to his brother, who had then reached Heidelberg, expressing his concern for the sufferings which the infantry had undergone; and directing the commanding officers of each regiment to make an early provision of shoes and other necessaries, which could not be readily obtained in a hostile country.

With that consummate vigilance which is equally attentive to every point within the sphere of action, he omitted no precaution to baffle the efforts which the french commanders might be prompted to make on the disclosure of his real design. To Godolphin he writes, May 28—June 8:—

“ Having received intelligence yesterday that in three or four days the duke of Villeroy, with his army, would join that of the marshal de Tallard about Landau, in order to force the passage

of the Rhine. I prevailed with count Wratislaw to make all the haste he could to prince Louis of Baden's army, where he will be this night, that he might make him sensible of the great consequence it is to hinder the french from passing that river, while we are acting against the elector of Bavaria. I have also desired him to press, and not to be refused, that either prince Louis or prince Eugene go immediately to the Rhine. I am in hopes to know to-morrow what resolution they have taken. If I could decide it by my wishes, prince Eugene should stay on the Danube, although prince Louis has assured me, by the count de Frise, that he will not make the least motion with his army, but as we shall concert. At this time it is agreed that prince Louis shall act on the Iller, and I on the Danube. If the marshal de Villeroy can be kept on the other side of the Rhine, we must be contented to suffer him to do what he pleases there, whilst we are acting in Bavaria. If we can hinder the junction of more troops to the elector, I hope six weeks after we begin may be sufficient for the reducing of him, or the entire ruining of his country. It will be the 10th of June our stile, before the english foot and cannon can join me on the Danube; and if the cannon, which prince Louis has promised, can be ready, which I much doubt, I shall in two days after the junction, march directly to Donawerth. If I can take that place I shall there settle a magazine for the army, at the same time that the other army is to force their passage over the Iller, which prince Louis thinks himself sure of, that river having several fords."

On the 8th Marlborough moved to Gross Gartach, and the 9th passing the Neckar a second time at Lauffen, advanced the next day to Mondelsheim, where he had the satisfaction to find that prince Eugene and count Wratislaw were on their way to visit him. Here these two great generals met for the first time, and conceived for each other that esteem and confidence which afterwards rendered them partners in glory. The next day they marched to Hippach, where Marlborough reviewed his cavalry, in the presence of Eugene. The prince expressed his surprise to find the troops in so excellent a condition, after their long

and harassing march. "I have heard much," he said, "of the english cavalry, and find it, indeed, to be the best appointed and finest I have ever seen. Money, of which you have no want in England, can buy clothes and accoutrements, but nothing can purchase the spirit which I see in the looks of your men. It is an earnest of victory." To so judicious a compliment, Marlborough made a no less flattering reply. "My troops," he observed, "are always animated with zeal for the common cause, but they are now inspired by your presence. To you we owe that spirit which awakens your admiration."*

In this camp they halted three days, to give time for the infantry to approach, and settle the future operations.

The margrave of Baden having detached 9,000 prussians, and three regiments of cavalry, to secure the passage of the Rhine, joined them on the 13th. On his arrival he said to Marlborough, with perhaps more courtesy than sincerity, "I am come to meet the deliverer of the empire." Alluding to his own recent failure, he added, "You will assist me in vindicating my honour, which has been lowered in the public opinion." Marlborough, on his part, was not deficient in attention to so proud and punctilious a prince: he replied, "I am come to learn of your highness how to save the empire. None but those who are deficient in judgment, can depreciate the merits of the prince of Baden, who has not only preserved the empire, but enlarged its boundaries."

Many conferences were held by the three generals, to settle their respective commands and future plans. In vain Marlborough laboured, both directly and indirectly, to induce the margrave to head the army on the Rhine, and leave Eugene as his colleague on the Danube. The margrave, unwilling to be removed from the most brilliant scene of operation, insisted on the privilege of choice as elder in rank; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that he consented to share the command by alternate days, with the english general. To the mortification both of

* Hare's Journal of the campaign.

Eugene and Marlborough, this arrangement was adopted, and the command on the Rhine assigned to Eugene.

The troops again moved early on the 14th, to the small village of Ebersbach; and the three generals, after partaking of an hospitable repast at Great Gartach, repaired to their respective commands. On reaching his camp in the evening, Marlborough found the prince of Hesse, with generals Bulow and Hompesch, attending to apprise him that their respective corps were in the neighbourhood, and ready to march to the appointed rendezvous.

During the course of this arduous expedition, the failures which occurred in distant quarters, were sufficient to have diverted a commander less decisive and persevering than Marlborough, from his purpose. Scarcely had he ceased to regret the tardiness of the margrave of Baden, in suffering the french reinforcements to join the elector of Bavaria, before intelligence equally unpleasant arrived from the army on the Meuse.

On the departure of the last detachment for Germany, Overkirk was ambitious to signalise his command, by an important enterprise. Being informed that the enemy were moving to Tongres, he broke up from Loon, and gaining the advance by a rapid march, effected an entrance into their deserted lines, on the side of Mierdorp and Wasseige. The enemy were utterly disconcerted by this unexpected movement; but the same opposition which had already defeated the laudable designs of Marlborough, proved no less fatal to those of the dutch commander. After losing a considerable part of the day in fruitless deliberation, the appearance of a small french detachment was sufficient to alarm his timid colleagues; and he was compelled to relinquish his advantage, at the very moment when his enterprise was likely to be crowned with complete success.*

However deeply Marlborough felt this disappointment, he could not but be gratified on comparing his actual situation with that of the preceding year, when he was shackled by the control of

* Relation sent to Marlborough by general Dopf, June, 1704.

dutch deputies, and harassed by the jealousies of dutch generals. He, however, announced the failure in terms of regret to secretary Harley :

“ *Ebersbach, June 4-15.*

“ I send now to my lord treasurer a relation I have received of the proceedings of our army on the Meuse, by which you will see our friends there have lost a very great opportunity. If they had made a good use of it, we might have found the effects in these parts, and every where else. They are sensible of their error, and I hope will be the more intent to retrieve it.”

Measures had been taken to form an army of 30,000 men on the Upper Rhine; but Marlborough was far from being satisfied with the dispositions in that quarter; for by some mismanagement of prince Louis, the prussians, who were to compose part of that force, had been drawn to the Danube, and the suabian troops, who were destined for the Danube, had been left on the Rhine. Accordingly no less than ten days were wasted in counter marching at a most critical period of time.*

From Ebersbach, which was his head quarters on the 14th and 15th of June, we find two interesting letters to Godolphin and the duchess. He acquaints them also with the flattering marks of attention, which he had received from the emperor, and communicates an offer, which was now first made of investing him with a principality of the empire.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ June 4-15. Since my last, I have had prince Louis with me, so that we have taken the necessary measures for our first motions. Prince Eugene was with me from Monday till Friday, and has in his conversation a great deal of my lord Shrewsbury, with the advantage of seeming franker. He has been very free with me, in giving me the character of the prince of Baden, by which I find I must be much more on my guard than if I was to act with prince Eugene. * * * *

* Marlborough to Godolphin, Great Hippach, May 31—June 11, 1704.

“ When I had writ thus far, count Wratislaw came to me, having just received an express from his master. After very great expressions, it ended in saying that his master was desirous to write to the queen, that he might have her consent to make me a prince of the empire, which he would do by creating some land he has in the empire into a principality, which would give me the privilege of being in the college, or diet, with the sovereign princes of the empire. You know I am not good at compliments; however, I did assure him that I was very sensible of the honour his master intended me, but in my opinion nothing of this ought to be thought on till we saw what would be the fate of the war. He replied, that what already had been done, had laid obligations on his master above what he could express, and that if the queen would not allow him to do this, he must appear ungrateful to the world, for he had nothing else in his power worth giving, or my taking. What is offered will in history for ever remain an honour to my family. But I wish myself so well that I hope I shall never want the income of the land, which no doubt will be but little, nor enjoy the privilege of German assemblies. However, this is the utmost expression that they can make, and therefore ought to be taken as it is meant.

“ I know you wish the queen and me so well, that you would be glad that nothing should be done that might do either of us hurt. Therefore my opinion of this matter is, that there can be no inconvenience in allowing count Wratislaw's master to write to the queen to ask her consent for the doing this, and then to bring the letter to the cabinet council. In the mean time I shall take care with count Wratislaw, that no further step be made till I know the queen's pleasure, and the opinion of lord treasurer.

“ I am very clear in my own opinion, that if any thing of this be to be done, it will have a much better grace for me when the business of the war is over; but I beg you to assure the queen, that I will with great pleasure obey in this matter, as well as in every thing else, what is most agreeable to her.”

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Ebersbach, June 4-15.”

“After we had taken the necessary resolutions for putting in execution what had been projected against the elector of Bavaria, yesterday in the afternoon prince Eugene went for the Rhine, prince Louis to his army, and your humble servant to his place. Prince Eugene will be at Philispsburg this day, and prince Louis with his army this morning.

“For want of the danes to join me, and the suabians that are to come from the Rhine to join prince Louis, we are necessitated for the first ten days to make but one army. We shall join four days hence, and march directly to the elector, who is encamped near Ulm, who without doubt will take his resolution of repassing the Danube, or marching to his old camp of last year, of Dillingen and Lawingen, so that I am afraid we shall not be able to do him much hurt till we are in a condition of acting with two armies.”

After adverting to the information which he had received from prince Eugene and count Wratislaw, respecting the captious temper of the margrave, he adds, “But at the same time they have assured me, that their master would not suffer him to do hurt, either by his temper, or by want of good inclinations. After I have said this, I must do him the justice, that I think he will do well; for he must be a devil, after what he has said, if he does otherwise.

“I have writ to lady Marlborough of a thing that count Wratislaw has by order spoke to me of. You will be pleased to let nobody know of it but the queen and prince; and be so kind as to let me know how I am to be directed in this matter. You will see by my letter to lady Marlborough, that I have gained time enough for having your advice; for I would have nothing done in this but what you think may be for the interest of the queen, as well as for my honour.”

He had now reached the most critical point, as well as the most anxious period of his long and difficult march. Before him stretched the range of mountains skirting the country, watered by

the Danube, which was intersected by the narrow pass of Gieslingen. This defile, which extended two miles in length, could scarcely be traversed by a large body of troops in less than a day, during the most favourable season of the year. At this moment the operation was rendered still more difficult by a series of heavy rains, which had broken up the roads, and swollen the rivulets into torrents. New cares and more extensive combinations were required on entering the real scene of action, and measures were to be taken for securing the junction with prince Louis, as soon as the army should descend into the plains. To add to the disquietude of the commander, the States General were alarmed by reports that Villeroy was returning to the Netherlands, and earnestly reclaimed a part of the auxiliary forces. News also arrived that Villeroy and Tallard had held a conference at Landau, on the 13th, which seemed to portend some enterprise of moment, and that the elector of Bavaria, after sending his baggage to Ulm, was pushing his army across the Danube, as if meditating an attack on prince Louis.

But the powerful mind of Marlborough seemed to gather strength and resources even from difficulty and peril. To tranquillise the States, he sent orders for the collection of a sufficient number of boats to facilitate the return of a large body of troops down the Rhine. He employed the interval of his halt in directing the formation of magazines at Heidelberg and Nordlingen. He also enjoined the danish foot, who had reached Frankfort, to direct their march towards Stolhoffen, and place themselves at the disposition of Eugene; and having pressed his brother, who had arrived with the infantry at Blockingen, to hasten his progress, he prepared to lead forward the cavalry and auxiliaries to the aid of prince Louis.

On the 20th he received the long expected intelligence that the German army was on the point of advancing to Westerstetten. The heavy baggage was instantly directed to move, under a strong escort, that it might not embarrass the passage of the troops. The whole army gradually traversed the defile without obstruction, and on the 22nd the camp was established, between Launsheim and

Ursprung, the right joining the left of prince Louis, who, in the interim, had taken his position near Westerstetten.

The following day was spent in reviewing the troops and forming a new line of battle. On the 24th, the confederates advancing to Elchingen and Langenau, in the vicinity of the Danube, the elector of Bavaria withdrew from his post at Ulm, and retired to the strong entrenched camp between Lawingen and Dillingen. The 25th the head quarters of Marlborough were established at Langenau. Here we discover in his correspondence a pleasing indication of sympathy with the sufferings of his troops.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ June 14-25. As I was never more sensible of heat in my life than I was a fortnight ago, we have now the other extremity of cold; for as I am writing I am forced to have fire in the stove in my chamber. But the poor men, that have not such conveniencies, I am afraid will suffer from these continual rains. As they do us hurt here, they do good to prince Eugene on the Rhine, so that we must take the bad with the good.”

The 26th the confederates again moved and took post between Herbrechten and Giengen, with the Brentz in front, two leagues from the enemy. On the following day general Churchill arrived with the foot and artillery, and two battalions of prussian infantry, who had joined him in his march. Marlborough reviewed them as they passed, to take their post in the lines, and was highly gratified to observe that their recent fatigues had not affected their gallant air and healthy appearance. The junction of all the forces being now complete, except that of the danish horse, under the duke of Wirtemberg, the combined army amounted to 96 battalions and 202 squadrons, with a train of 48 pieces of artillery, and 24 pontoons.

We here insert a letter which not only displays the feelings of our great commander at this trying crisis, but indicates that ardent conjugal affection, and keen sensibility to public censure, which pervades his correspondence. It shews also that singular facility with which he could bend his attention to trifles even in the midst of the most serious occupations.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Giengen, June 18-29.

“ Since my last, I have had the happiness of receiving your's of the 30th of the last month, and the 1st and 2nd of this. It is not only by your's, but by others that I find that there are several people, who would be glad of my not having success in this undertaking. I am very confident, without flattering myself, that it is the only thing that was capable of saving us from ruin, so that whatever the success may be, I shall have the inward satisfaction to know that I have done all that was in my power, and that none can be angry with me for the undertaking, but such a wish ill to their country and their religion, and with such I am not desirous of their friendship.

“ The english foot and cannon joined me two days ago, but I do not expect the danish horse till six or seven days hence, till which time, we shall not be able to act against the elector of Bavaria, as I could wish. You will easily believe that I act with all my heart and soul, since good success will in all likelihood give me the happiness of ending my days with you. The queen's allowing you to say something from her is very obliging. I shall endeavour to deserve it; for I serve her with all my heart, and I am very confident she will always have the prayers and good wishes of this country.

“ You have forgot to order Hodges to send me a draught of a stable, as I directed him, for the lodge; for it ought not to be made use of till the year after it is built; and as I see you set your heart on that place, I should be glad all conveniencies were about it.”

CHAPTER 23.

1704.

Defensive dispositions of the elector of Bavaria—Defeat of his troops on the Schellenberg—Misunderstanding between Marlborough and the margrave of Baden—Letter from the emperor on the victory.

THE advance of the confederates towards the camp of the enemy, indicated the developement of the plan to secure Donawerth as a place of arms for the invasion of Bavaria. The gallo-bavarian army occupied a formidable position between Lawingen and Dillingen, with the Danube in the rear, and the front strongly fortified and covered with inundations. To secure the passage leading through Donawerth, the elector detached general d'Arco, with 10,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, to occupy the Schellenberg, a commanding height north of the Danube. By this skilful disposition, he hoped to cover his own dominions, and hold the confederates in check, till he could receive the additional reinforcements which he expected from France.

Marlborough penetrated the design, and became doubly anxious to realise his plan. After a conference with the margrave, he extorted his consent to advance with the army, and resolved to profit by the alternation of the command on the ensuing day, to attack the troops on the Schellenberg, before they could be still farther strengthened. On the first of July, therefore, the whole army under the direction of the margrave, defiled before the electoral camp, the avenues of which were watched by general Bulow, with a body of cavalry. Directing their march towards Donawerth, the confederates encamped in the evening, between Amerdingen and Onderingen, about fourteen miles from the foot of the Schellenberg.

So bold an enterprise as that which Marlborough prepared to execute, might have daunted a spirit less determined and persevering. He had yet a long march to make, encumbered with a heavy train of artillery, and over roads drenched by incessant rains. With these disadvantages, he was to attack a position of formidable strength, and defended by an ample force. He was conscious, however, that if he failed to accomplish his purpose, while invested with the temporary command, the ensuing day would be wasted by his colleague in deliberation, and that a delay of twenty-four hours would enable the enemy to receive reinforcements, and mature their measures of defence. To those who suggested their fears or doubts, he replied, "Either the enemy will escape or will have time to finish their works. In the latter case the delay of every single hour will cost the loss of a thousand men."*

After another conference with the margrave, Marlborough with his usual humanity gave orders to establish an hospital for the wounded at Nordlingen. He also selected a detachment of 130 men from each battalion, amounting to 6,000 foot and thirty squadrons of horse, to which were added three regiments of imperial grenadiers, furnished by prince Louis.† This detachment was to precede the army, and commence the attack. Measures were also taken for opening the roads and throwing bridges across the Wernitz, a deep and rapid stream which flows into the Danube about a mile from the foot of the Schellenberg.

Such being the preparatory arrangements of the evening, the detachment moved at three in the morning on the 2nd of July, under the direction of the duke himself, and at five was followed by the army, which filed by the left in two columns along the main road, leading through Roerbach towards a height between Obermorgen and Weinstein. At the same time the baggage and artillery in two columns, took the route through Monachdeckingen to Harburg on the Wernitz, where it was to wait for farther orders.

* Falkenstein's Bayern, p. 808.

† Marlborough's letter to secretary Harley, July 5. State Paper Office.

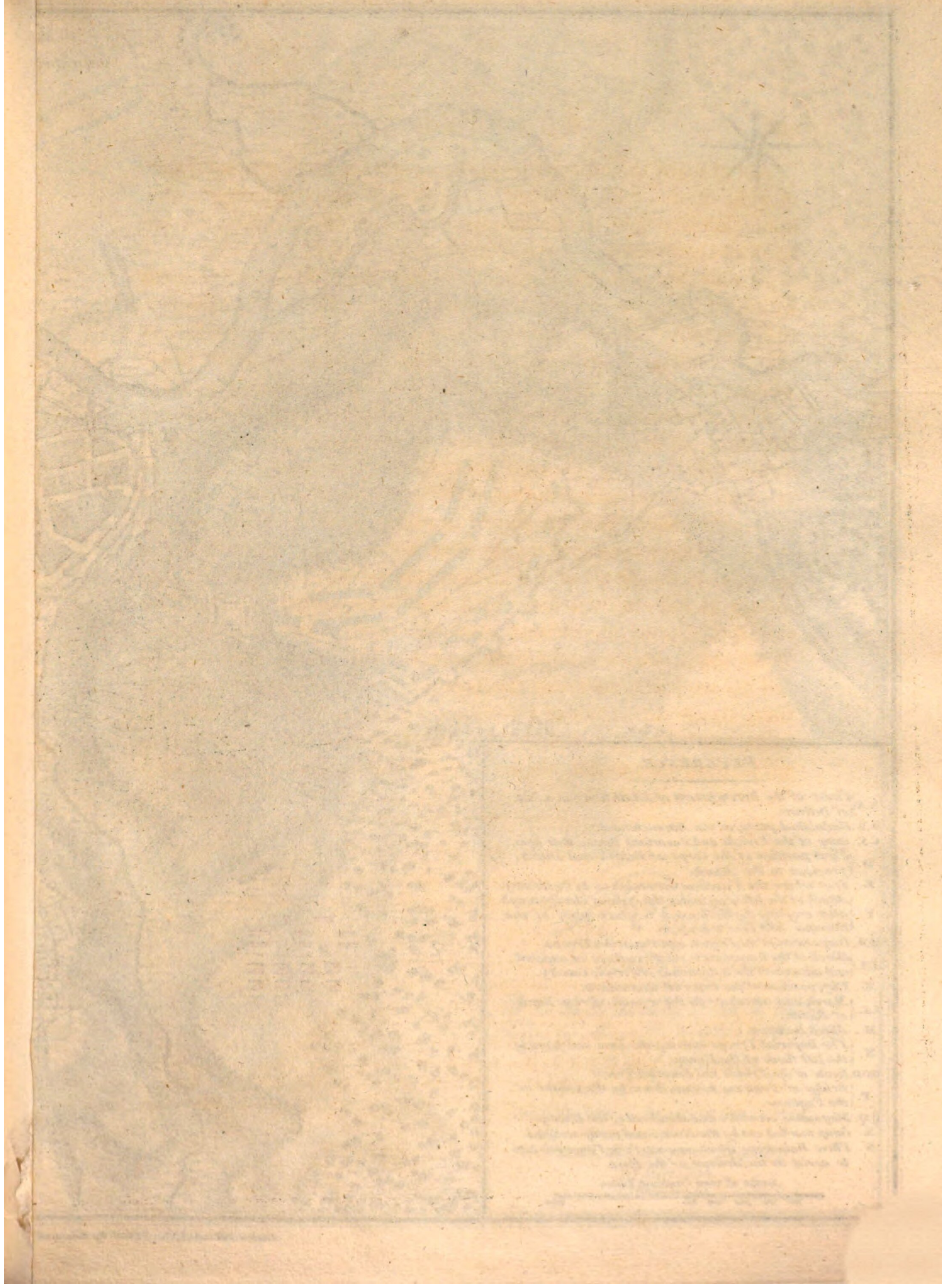
About eight the advance with the quarter-master general came in sight of the Schellenberg. They halted at Obermorgen, and immediately began to mark out a camp for the army on the left bank of the Wernitz.

At nine Marlborough himself reached the spot; accompanied by the officers who were to command in the attack, he proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and being observed, was saluted with a heavy cannonade from different points of their works.

The Schellenberg is a height over-hanging Donawerth and the left bank of the Danube. It rises in a gradual though unequal ascent, which at the intended point of attack, was about a quarter of a mile. The summit forms a flat space, half a mile wide, on which the enemy were encamped in several lines.* Their left was supported on the covert way of Donawerth, and their order being adapted to the figure of the ground, their right was thrown back, on one of the channels into which the Danube is divided. Along the front was an intrenchment, which ran from the covert way of Donawerth, was connected with an old fort on the brow of the hill above, and embracing the summit descended on the opposite flank to the very bank of the river. Of this work the central part alone was in a state of defence, but the remainder was in a rapid progress of advancement. In front of the position to the right and left

* Great discordance is found in the different accounts of the numbers occupying the height of Schellenberg, one party endeavouring to lessen the shame of defeat, by under-rating their strength, and the other as anxiously over-rating it. Thus we find the gallo-bavarian force estimated as high as 32,000 men, and as low as 7,000, which is the computation of d'Arco himself. The official accounts do not exactly accord even in the number of battalions and squadrons, but the lowest states the force at 22 battalions and 9 squadrons, which would make 12,000 men, allowing no more than 500 men to each battalion. This computation nearly agrees with the duke's account, derived from deserters after the battle; namely, 16 bavarian and 5 french battalions, and from 9 to 15 squadrons. We are therefore justified in stating the number to be at least 12,000.

Letter from the duke of Marlborough to the States, July 4—From d'Arco to the elector—History of Europe, for July 1704, p. 350—Falkenstein's Bayern—Lettre de Marsin à Chamillard, Juillet 9—Memoires de Maffei—Ledyard, v. 1, p. 323—Histoire de Marlborough, t. 1, p. 352.

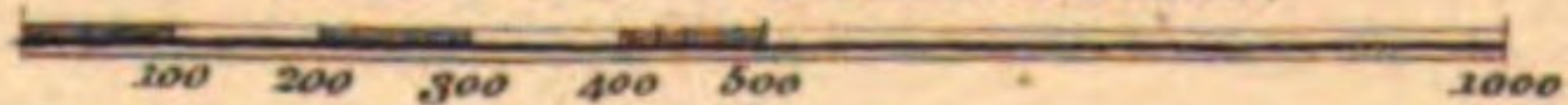




REFERENCE.

- A.A. Center of the Intrenchment of Schellenberg in a State of Defence.
- B.B. Unfinished parts of the Intrenchment.
- C.C. Camp of the French and Bavarians behind their lines.
- D. First position of the Corps of British and Dutch, previous to the Attack.
- E. Spot where the Fascines were taken up by the Infantry.
- F. Attack of the left wing, under the Duke of Marlborough.
- G. where many of the Fascines had been thrown in
- H.H. Disposition of the French and Bavarian Troops.
- I.I. March of the Bavarians to reinforce the point attacked, and advance of the 3 Regiments of French Cavalry.
- K. First position of the Imperial Grenadiers.
- L.L. March and attack of the Right, under Prince Louis of Baden.
- M. Allied Batteries.
- N. The Imperial Troops entering the lines and turning the left flank of the Enemy.
- O.O. Route of the French and Bavarian Troops
- P. Bridge of Pontoons broken down by the weight of the Fugitives.
- Q.Q. Magazines set on fire and abandoned by the Enemy.
- R. Camp marked out by the Enemy and partly occupied.
- S. Three Battalions which came out of the Town too late to assist in the defence of the lines.

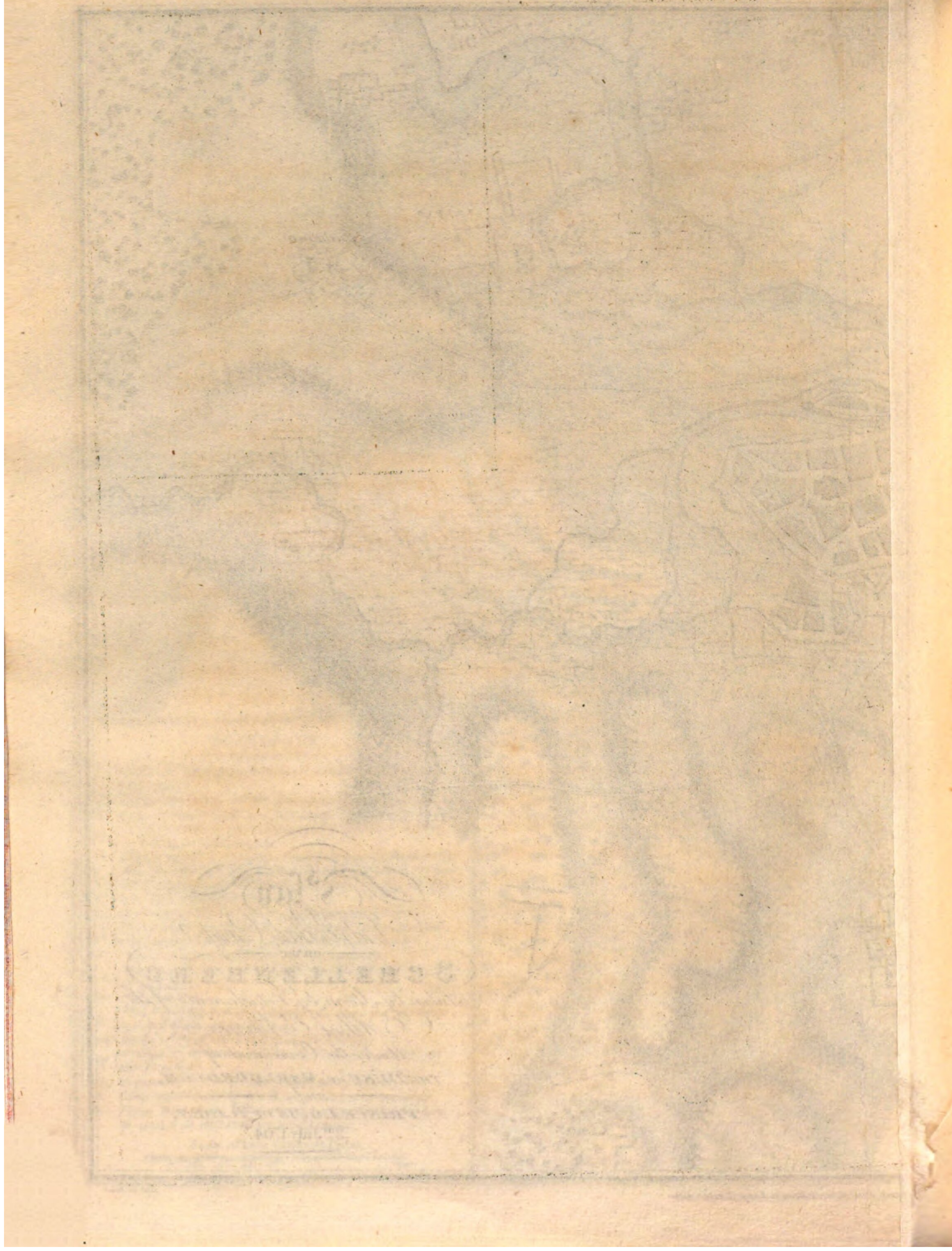
Scale of 1000 Common Paces.





Plan
of the
Intrenched Camp
on the
SHELLENBERG
Taken by Storm by Detachments of the
Allied Armies
Under the Command of
THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,
and
PRINCE LOUIS OF BADEN,
2nd July 1704.

Scale of 10000



was open ground, that on the side of Donawerth being mostly uneven, broken by a ravine, and washed by a rivulet, which after skirting the foot of the hill, flows through the exterior works of Donawerth into the Danube. Opposite the center, the Boschberg, a thick wood stretched from the verge of the intrenchment, and gradually expanded itself to the border of a stream rising above Monheim. To the west of the Schellenberg, ran the great road leading from Nordlingen, through Donawerth, to Augsburg.

The enemy had planted two batteries, one near the old fort, the other near the point of the Boschberg. On the approach of the allied detachment, their out-posts set fire to the hamlet of Berg, situated on a gentle elevation beyond the rivulet, and drew back towards the main body.

Marlborough attentively noted the disposition of the enemy as well as the local peculiarities, and directing his view across the Danube, descried a camp marked out, with tents pitched on each wing. It was occupied by a detachment of cavalry from the electoral army, and he afterwards found that the interval was reserved for a body of foot then on their march. Their object was, to support and reinforce the troops on the Schellenberg.

Having completed his survey, Marlborough returned to meet the advanced detachment, which from the bad state of the roads did not reach the Wernitz till mid-day. After a short halt, to give rest to the troops and allow the army to approach, the detachment crossed the Wernitz at three over the stone bridge at Obermorgen. Pontoon bridges were at the same time thrown across the stream below, and some squadrons of cavalry were sent into the Boschberg to form fascines, for the purpose of facilitating an entrance into the enemy's works.

In the midst of these preparations a messenger arrived from Eugene with the news, that Villeroy and Tallard were then at Strasburg making arrangements for detaching a powerful reinforcement to the elector. Incited by this intelligence, Marlborough did not even wait for the arrival of the imperialists, who were yet in the rear, but issued orders for the attack. The infantry destined

for the enterprise being instantly in motion, Marlborough himself led them to the verge of the Boschberg, ranged them in four lines; and drew from the main body eight new battalions, who were either to act as a reserve, or prolong the attack to the right, if the first detachment did not embrace a sufficient extent of the enemies' line. Eight other battalions were ordered forward to sustain them, and the cavalry formed two lines in the rear. A battery was opened by the english beyond the houses of Berg; and soon afterwards the fire was increased by several pieces of German artillery.

The command of the attack was consigned to the dutch general Goor, and the first line was led by brigadier Ferguson. The whole was preceded by a forlorn hope of fifty chosen grenadiers under lord Mordaunt, whose chivalrous spirit panted for distinction in so perilous an encounter.

The promptitude and decision of Marlborough confounded the gallo-bavarian commanders. On the first appearance of the allies, d'Arco, and Maffei his colleague, advanced beyond their outposts to reconnoitre; and descrying only some scattered parties of cavalry on the heights beyond the Wernitz, they at first considered them as mere detachments sent out to explore the country. Perceiving however fresh squadrons emerge from the woods, and the body increase without advancing, they concluded that a camp was forming on the spot, and returned to Donawerth to dine without the slightest prognostic of the impending attack. Scarcely had they sat down to table before intelligence arrived which indicated the approach of the allied army. The two generals remounted their horses, and riding to the heights were surprised to observe the opposite hills covered with troops, and columns filing over the Wernitz, or ascending the foot of the Schellenberg. Still they did not imagine that an army, fatigued by a tedious and difficult march, would hazard an attack towards the close of the day. Supposing that the allies would spend the remainder of the evening in preparation, they hastened the progress of the works, hoping in the night to complete their defences, and draw in the expected reinforcements.

General d'Arco, however, did not contemplate his situation

with confidence or tranquillity. He surveyed the increasing mass of the allies in anxious silence, and for a considerable period seemed absorbed in doubt and perturbation. It is the opinion of Maffei that he was alarmed by the imperfect state of his intrenchments, and hesitated whether he should defend or abandon the post committed to his care. At length the advance and development of the allied columns, and the thunder of the artillery roused him from his reflections. He ordered his troops to desist from work, and resume their arms, and made dispositions for a vigorous resistance.*

Within a few minutes the conflict began. Marlborough at first intended to penetrate through the Boschberg, and form a double attack against both faces of the intrenchment; but this design being frustrated by the thickness of the wood, the principal effort was made on the portion stretching from the fort to the point of the Boschberg. At six in the evening the signal was given, and the assailants advanced with a firm and deliberate step under a heavy fire from every point of the enemy's works, commanding the line of their approach. When they arrived within the range of grape, the carnage became dreadful: general Goor, and many brave officers fell, and a momentary pause ensued. Order was speedily restored; other leaders supplied the places of the killed and disabled, and the assailants again moved forward, with incredible firmness. On reaching the ravine, the foremost troops mistook it for the ditch of the intrenchment, and threw in their fascines; but being unable to pass, and the fire of the enemy increasing in vivacity and effect, they began to give way. The gallo-bavarians took advantage of the confusion, rushed from their works, and charged the broken ranks with the bayonet. They were repulsed principally by a battalion of english guards, who had almost singly maintained their ground, although most of the officers were either killed or wounded.

The assailants, however, continued to draw near the foot of the works; but the enemy who had at first distributed their force along

* Memoires du Marquis de Maffei.

their whole front recalled their troops from the right and left to the principal point of attack. By this combined effort their resistance was vigorous and obstinate, and sallying forth from the trenches they more than once became the assailants. Exhausted by repeated struggles, and thinned by a destructive fire, the allied infantry began once more to give way, when general Lumley with equal gallantry and decision led forward the horse, closed up his ranks to sustain the discouraged and suffering troops, and by his example and support prevented a repulse.

However heavy the loss of the allies, the strength of the enemy was equally shaken by this protracted conflict. The accidental explosion of some powder which had been brought forward for distribution, spread a sudden panic; and though the troops were led back to their posts, their numbers were rapidly diminished, and their spirits sunk under an assault which was continually renewed. At length the english and dutch were on the point of breaking into the entrenchment, when they were cheered by the advance of the imperialists led forward by the margrave in person. These troops passing the Wernitz below Berg, to prolong the attack on the right, drew up under the walls of Donawerth, with little annoyance from the scattered fire of two bavarian battalions, who were unskilfully posted on the ramparts, instead of lining the covert way. Advancing against the unfinished portion of the works between the fort and the town, they easily dispersed two french battalions left on the spot. The infantry experienced a trifling check from a charge of french cavalry; but the horse rushing forward repulsed the assailants, while the foot wheeling to the left, bore on the flank of the troops engaged with the english and dutch.

While the attention of the enemy was thus called to another quarter, the final effort was made at the principal attack. The regiment of dragoons, commanded by lord John Hay, dismounted to aid the infantry, but before they could scale the intrenchment, the gallo-bavarians disbanding, fled in the utmost disorder, some towards the village of Zirichsheim, some towards the bridge on the Danube, and others towards Donawerth.

Marlborough, who had greatly exposed his person in the conflict, and given his orders with his usual calmness, entered the works at the head of the first squadrons. He recalled the foot, who were in pursuit of the fugitives, and ordered the horse to charge and complete the victory. The route and carnage which ensued may be more easily conceived than described. Many were intercepted in their way to Donawerth, while many hurrying to the bridge, broke it down by their weight, and were lost in the Danube. Others dispersing on every side, came in as deserters to the victorious army. D'Arco himself escaped with difficulty, and his son was among those who perished in the river.* Of the whole body only 3,000 men rejoined the elector; sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken; and the equipage and plate of the commander fell into the hands of the victorious soldiery.

In this desperate conflict the allies had no less than 1,500 killed, and 4,000 wounded, and their loss was particularly heavy in officers; the killed amounting to eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains. Besides general Goor, the dutch general Beinheim, was among the slain; the prince of Bevern and count Stirum, were mortally wounded, and the margrave of Baden himself received a contusion in his foot. Marlborough particularly regretted the fate of Goor, who to great military talents and bravery, added equal zeal and integrity, and had rendered himself eminently useful during the preceding operations.

Scarcely was the conflict terminated before the night set in with a heavy rain. The duke paid particular attention to the state of the wounded, whose sufferings were greatly aggravated by this unfavourable change of weather. He then left a considerable body of troops to maintain possession of the intrenchments, and withdrawing with the remainder to the camp on the Wernitz, took up his quarters at Obermorgen.†

* From the accident which befel the son, the father himself is stated to have been drowned in one of Marlborough's dispatches.

† The account of this engagement has been drawn from Hare's Manuscript Journal of the Campaign—the Official Letters on both sides—Ledyard, with the dutch and french biographers,

At the close of the engagement he dispatched an official account to secretary Harley, and in a short letter respectfully notified his victory to the queen.

“I most humbly presume to inform your majesty, that the success of our first attack of the enemy has been equal to the justice of the cause your majesty has so graciously and zealously espoused. Mr. Secretary Harley will have the honour to lay the relation of yesterday’s action before you. To which I shall crave leave to add, that our success is in a great measure owing to the particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of your troops. I shall endeavour to improve the happy beginning, to your majesty’s glory, and the benefit of your allies.”

But it is his private correspondence with lord Godolphin and the duchess, which best exhibits his views and feelings, in the moment of victory.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“*Obermorgen, July 3.*”

“You will see by Mr. Secretary Harley’s letter, that in our last camp I took the resolution of attacking the bavarians that were posted on the Schellenberg, which I did yesterday. It is a hill that commands the town of Donawerth, which passage on the Danube is what would be very advantageous to us, for I would make the magazine for our army there. If we had the cannon ready, we could not fail of taking it; but our misfortune is, that all things are wanting here; but prince Louis assures me that we shall have 20 pieces of battery here in four days, which I am afraid is impossible. Our english foot have lost a great many, the heat of the action being on our left. I must refer you to Mr. Secretary’s letter for such particulars as I am able to write at this time. I am not able to do more than to thank you for three of your’s, which I have received since my last letter, being so tired that I can hardly hold my pen, so that till the next post I must take my leave.”

—and the Memoires du Marquis de Maffei, who has given a circumstantial account of what passed in the gallo-bavarian camp.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Obermorgen, June 23—July 4.

“ I think myself so happy in my dearest soul's love, that I know she will be better pleased with two lines that I am well after the action we had yesterday, than with whole volumes on another occasion. It has pleased God, after a very obstinate defence, to have given us the victory, by which we have ruined the best of the elector's foot, for there was very little horse. My lord treasurer will let you see Mr. Secretary Harley's letter, if you care to see what the action was. The english foot have suffered a good deal, but none of your acquaintance are hurt, except Mr. Meredith and major-general Wood, neither in danger.

“ Now that I have told you the good, I must tell you the ill news, which is, that the marshal de Villeroy, has promised the elector of Bavaria that he will send him, by way of the Black Forest, 50 battalions of foot and 60 squadrons of horse, as he tells him in his letter, the best troops of France, which would make him stronger than we. But I rely very much on the assurances prince Eugene gave me yesterday by his adjutant-general, that he would venture the whole, rather than suffer them to pass quietly as the last did.

“ Let my dear children know I am well.

“ You may let my lord treasurer know that I think the english have done so well that the cannon ought to fire for this victory.”

The successful result of this action contributed to aggravate the misunderstanding which had already arisen from the discordant characters of the two commanders. Although the plan had been formed by Marlborough, and although it would never have been executed by his colleague; yet as the margrave first entered the entrenchment, his partisans ascribed to him the chief honour of the victory. From the army this feud spread into Holland, where the faction which had already laboured to depreciate the talents of Marlborough, seized this plea to diminish the merit of his services, by striking a medal, representing on one side the head of the margrave, and on the other, the lines of Schellenberg, with the

motto "Hoste cæso, fugato, castris direptis," &c. without any allusion to the skill and energy of the british commander.*

On the other hand, Marlborough in all his letters speaks with dislike if not contempt of his colleague; and the official gazette only mentions him incidentally, among the superior officers who were wounded.

The dissatisfaction between the two chiefs hourly gained strength. In many of Marlborough's letters we find heavy accusations against the inertness of the margrave, and complaints that he was shackled in all his designs by the captious and jealous spirit of his colleague. The german commander was doubtless not wanting in recriminations; for in works written at the period by those who were attached to his cause, we find Marlborough depicted as arrogant, suspicious, repulsive, and as boasting that he had marched into Germany, to give spirit to the natives and spurs to the french.

Marlborough was, however, consoled for these petty efforts of impotent malice, by the general applause of the public. The terror of his arms was not merely felt in France, but extended to those states who favoured the Bourbon cause in Italy. In a congratulatory letter, written on this occasion, the duke of Shrewsbury, who was then at home, observes:

"I will not suspend your time with politic reflections, which you can make much better than I, but must tell you that in this holy, ignorant city they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane; and had I a picture of old colonel Birch with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours; and change it for one done by Raphael."

At Vienna the benefit of his services was acknowledged with transports of gratitude. The victory of Schellenberg was hailed as the token of deliverance from the ruin which impended over the house of Austria. Every tongue was lavish in praising the bravery of the english troops, the generous aid of the queen, and the zeal and conduct of the illustrious commander. "The whole court,"

* In Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 335.

to use the language of Mr. Stepney, "is quite changed,* and the young king of the Romans, even on his way to chapel, broke through the severe rules of austrian etiquette, to testify his exultation to the british minister.

The cold and phlegmatic Leopold, also, who had scrupled to lay aside the formalities of state in thanking the gallant Sobieski for the deliverance of Vienna,† was roused to an unusual transport, and wrote to the victorious chief a letter of congratulation in his own hand, an honour rarely conferred except on sovereign princes.

After thanking him for his care and diligence in bringing forward the succours furnished by the queen, he continues :

"Nothing can be more glorious than the celerity and vigour with which after the junction of your army and mine, you forced the camp of the enemy at Donawerth ; since my generals and ministers declare that the success of the enterprise, which is most acceptable and opportune to me, was chiefly owing to your counsel, prudence, and conduct, as well as to the bravery of the troops who fought under your command."

Having declared that he would omit no opportunity of rewarding his merits, and testified his hopes of farther success, he concludes :

"This will be an eternal trophy to your most serene queen in Upper Germany, whither the victorious arms of the english nation have never penetrated since the memory of man."‡

* Mr. Stepney to secretary Harley, Vienna, July 9, 1704. State Paper Office.

† House of Austria, v. 1, p. 2, ch. 66.

‡ Translation from the original in the Blenheim Papers—also Ledyard, vol. 1, p. 419.

CHAPTER 24.

1704.

Consequences of the victory on the Schellenberg—The gallo-bavarians commence their retreat to Augsburg—The allies occupy Donawerth—Pass the Danube and Lech, and capture Rain, Aicha and Friedburgh—The gallo-bavarians take post under the walls of Augsburg—Negotiation with the elector of Bavaria—His country given up to military execution—A principality of the empire again offered to Marlborough—Application on the subject from the emperor to the queen.

HAPPILY the apprehensions which Marlborough had expressed in one of the preceding letters, that the enemy would defend Donawerth to the last extremity, proved groundless. For the elector, after witnessing the defeat of his troops from the farther bank of the Lech, hastily rejoined the army, and commenced his retreat towards Augsburg, in which position he hoped to impede the operations of the confederates, at the same time that he preserved the communications which would enable him to receive succours from France. As the possession of Donawerth was inconsistent with this system of defence, he directed the garrison to withdraw, after setting fire to the magazines and bridge. But they were not sufficiently prompt in the execution of this order; for the confederates entered the town at the moment of their retreat, and extinguished the conflagration before it had produced the intended effect. Marlborough was highly gratified by this unexpected success, as we find from a letter to the duchess:

“ *Donawerth, July 4, 1704.*

“ I writ to my dearest soul yesterday, giving her an account of God’s having blessed us with a victory the day before, the effect of

which has been, that we are now masters of this town, which will be of great advantage to us ; since it will oblige the elector to retire into his own country, and give us the opportunity of posting ourselves between him and the french troops he expects. We should not have taken this place in ten days, if the garrison had not been frightened by the action they saw two days ago ; for the bavarians were under the shot of their cannon, when we forced them.

“ I am in great hopes we shall succeed, which will be for the eternal honour of her majesty ; for not only the country, but the generals and soldiers all own their being saved, to her generous proceedings ; as in truth it is very plain, that if her majesty's troops had not been here, the elector of Bavaria had been now in Vienna.

“ Since this action, I have hardly had time to sleep, for lieutenant-general Goor helped me in a great many things, which I am now forced to do myself, till I can find some other officer I can rely on for it.”

Bridges having been prepared, the army traversed the Danube in five columns on the 5th of July, and seized the greater part of the pontoons belonging to the enemy, together with a considerable quantity of meal, which had been abandoned in the confusion of the retreat. On the following day the confederates advanced as far as Heischeim, and took post between the Zusam and the Schmutter. At the same time the danish horse arriving, were incorporated in the line of battle ; and thus the whole army, which had marched in so many different divisions, was united without the loss of a single corps. From this camp Marlborough thus adverts to his situation and views :

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ July 6, N. S. We are now taking care for a passage over this river of Lech, and then we shall be in the heart of the elector's country. If he will ever make propositions it must be then. The marshals de Villeroy and Tallard are separated. The latter is to join the elector of Bavaria, and the duke de Villeroy is to act on the

Rhine. Prince Eugene will be obliged to divide his army, so that he may observe each of their motions. As for his person, it will be with that army that is to observe M. Tallard. * * *

“By all the intelligence we have, our last action has very much disheartened the enemy, so that if we can get over the river to engage them, I no ways doubt but God will bless us with the victory. Our greatest difficulty is, that of making our bread follow us; for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it, and the germans that are used to starve, cannot advance without us. The duke of Wirtemberg has sent orders to his country for two hundred waggons, to help bring on our stores, and I have promised to pay them for a month, which time I hope will finish our business in this country.”

As the Lech was deep, broad, and rapid, and the enemy had taken the precaution of destroying the bridges, considerable attention was necessary to secure a passage. Colonel Cadogan having selected a proper point near Gunderkingen, was supported by a detachment of 4,000 men and 12 pieces of cannon, while laying the pontoons. This operation was effected on the 7th; and the same evening the sustaining corps, with an additional force of 6,000 men, took post on the opposite bank. The views of the confederates being thus developed, the bavarian garrison of Neuburg retired to Ingoldstadt; the place was immediately occupied by a body of horse; and a detachment of 3,000 men, which had been left on the other side of the Danube, under the imperial general d'Herbeville, was ordered to advance and secure so important a point of communication.

As the elector by halting at Augsburg, had now evinced his design of sacrificing all other considerations, for the sake of the succour expected from France, a resolution was taken to turn the tide of war into his unfortunate country. The confederates accordingly moved on the 8th to Gunderkingen, and passing the Lech during the following day, encamped on the 10th between Stauda and Mittelstetten. According to the order of battle their force amounted to 73 battalions and 174 squadrons.

Information of these proceedings was transmitted to Godolphin:

"Gunderkingen, July 9."

"You will see by my letter to Mr. Secretary Harley, that the enemy has not recovered the great blow they received at the Schellenberg; for their consternation is yet such, that as soon as they knew our bridges were made over the Lech, they immediately quitted Neuburg, so that yesterday we sent dragoons for securing the town, till M. d'Herberville advances with 3,000 men under his command; for this place is of very great consequence, since this town will make it easy for us to have all our provisions for the subsistence of the army, from the circle of Franconia.

"We shall to-morrow have all the army in the elector's country, so that if he will ever think of terms it must be now, for we shall do our utmost to ruin his country. The only hope the enemy seem to have, is the reinforcement the marshal de Villeroy has promised them: and that they may gain time for the junction, they are strongly encamped at Augsburg, by which they abandon the greatest part of the elector's country.

"We have heard nothing of prince Eugene since the 5th, so that we take it for granted that the marshal de Tallard has not pursued his march, which he began the 2nd of this month, and I cannot but be of the opinion, that if he has a true account of what has passed at the Schellenberg, he will be desirous of having fresh orders from court before he advances farther."

In a letter to the duchess, of the same date, he exults in the reflection that he was liberated from the control of the dutch deputies and generals; an advantage, from which he anticipates future success.

"The garrison which we have at Neuburg, will give us the advantage of having bread for the army out of Franconia. I should not trouble you with this, but that I am extremely pleased to know, that I have it now in my power that the poor soldiers shall not want bread. I know that I make my court to my dear life, when I assure her that I take all the pains I am capable of to serve the public, and that I have great reason to hope that every thing will go on well; for I have the pleasure to find all the officers willing to obey, without knowing any other reason than that it is my desire, which is very different from what it was in Flanders,

where I was obliged to have the consent of a council of war for every thing I undertook."

Though unable to oppose, the elector endeavoured to retard the progress of the confederates, by throwing a garrison of 400 men into Rain. It therefore became necessary to reduce a place, which in their farther advance would intercept their line of communication. With this view the army made a short march to Purkheim; and the heavy artillery being brought up, an attack was opened in form, on the 13th by the count de Frise, who had been previously detached, with a force of 9 battalions and 15 squadrons. During the halt occasioned by this operation, the most strenuous exertions were made in collecting magazines, and establishing communications across the Danube and Lech. A reinforcement of 30 squadrons was also dispatched to Eugene, with the hope of impeding the advance of the french reinforcements.

Neither labours nor anxiety could, however, divert the cares of Marlborough from those who shared his tenderness. From Purkheim, we find him conveying consolation to the duchess, for the loss of their son, in a style of peculiar delicacy and affection.

"July 13. Since my last I have had the happiness of your's of the 13th and 16th of last month, and am very sorry to see that you have had a return of the illness, that I saw you have once at St. Alban's. I conjure you not to neglect taking advice and doing what may be proper for preventing it in future; for if you will make me happy now, you must live long, and not have melancholy thoughts of what is passed; for I do assure you I place all my hopes in ending my days quietly with you, and to be contented with the children that it has pleased God to continue to us.

"My blood is so heated, that I have had for the last three days a violent head-ache; but not having stirred out of my chamber this day, I find myself much easier, so that I hope to-morrow morning to be very well. Lord treasurer will let you know all the news that I have writ to Mr. Secretary Harley. Pray tell my dear children, that I hope in ten days time to have so much leisure as to write to them. I hope in God my next will tell you I am quite well."

*

The garrison of Rain having surrendered on the 16th, the army resumed their march on the following day, encamping with the right at Holtz, and the left at Oesterhausen. The 18th they advanced to Aicha, where after some hesitation they were admitted by the inhabitants. On the 19th they proceeded towards Friedberg, of which the garrison did not venture to wait their nearer approach, as we find by a letter from Marlborough to secretary Harley.

“Friedberg, July 25.

*“My last to you was on Sunday, from Aicha. We advanced about two leagues towards this place, and halting yesterday in the morning, I took out the picket of the left, with a detachment of 500 foot, and came to view this ground, and reconnoitre the enemy's camp. Upon my approach to the town, the garrison, consisting of 200 horse, and as many foot, retired with great precipitation to their camp, on the other side of the Lech, close to Augsburg. Whereupon the magistrates brought me the keys, and I took possession with the 500 foot and 100 horse. This morning the whole army came and encamped, with the right at Wolfertshausen, and the left at Osmaring, this town being in the center of the line, within a league of the city, whereof we have a perfect view, as well as of the enemy's camp.”**

Rapid as these movements may appear, the progress of the confederates was not sufficiently rapid to satisfy the aspiring views of the British commander. With that promptitude of decision which marked his conduct, he entertained sanguine hopes of reducing Munich before the elector could recover from his consternation, and with the capital to secure the conquest of all Bavaria. But here, as elsewhere, it was his misfortune to be restrained in his extensive designs by the want of means, for he was unable to obtain the artillery and stores which had been promised by the margrave of Baden for the siege. To this disappointment we find him alluding in his correspondence, though he concealed

* State Paper Office.

his chagrin from the public, that he might not wound the feelings of the german commander.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ July 31. For want of cannon, and the king of France doing all he can to succour the elector, we shall be obliged to take such measures as our wants will permit us ; but you may be assured if they give us any opportunity we shall be glad to come to a battle ; for that would decide the whole, because our troops are very good. But our misfortune is, that we want every thing for attacking towns, otherwise this would have been dated from Munich.”

To the duchess, after adverting to the feuds which had arisen in Portugal, he continues :

“ I do not wonder that there are complaints against the portuguese ; for where there is not success, complaints are a necessary consequence. I think the best service we can do the queen, is to do the utmost to forward the service with what one has, and not to think one is excused, when there may be just reason for complaint. The army I am joined with has neither cannon nor money, which are two very necessary things for success ; but I am very far from complaining, knowing very well that they are as desirous of having it as I am, so that I hope another year they will be better provided.”

The consternation which the victory of Schellenberg produced in the bavarian army, was deep and universal ; but on the elector himself, though a prince of the highest spirit and bravery, the blow fell with accumulated effect. He lost that gaiety and affability which had hitherto given animation to his troops ; and in discoursing on the catastrophe, the tears ran down his cheeks as he adverted to the fate of his favourite regiments. In this disposition, hope was entertained that he would submit to such terms as might save his country from the horrors of military execution. Accordingly a negotiation, which was commenced before the engagement by Marlborough, and broken off in consequence of the exorbitant demands made by the elector, was resumed. The consent of the emperor was with difficulty extorted, and the

necessary powers and instructions were confided to count Wratislaw, while the interests of the elector were managed by M. Reichardt, one of his secretaries. During the recent movements of the army, several communications had taken place; and the conditions were at length so far arranged, that the elector promised to meet the austrian plenipotentiary on the 25th of July, and ratify the articles, which had been concluded by his agent. The terms were neither dishonourable to his character, nor insulting to his feelings: he was to obtain the restoration of his dominions, and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns, to furnish 12,000 men for the service of the emperor.

The hope of a satisfactory arrangement was, however, of short duration. The elector, who had yielded to the first shock, was encouraged to persevere, by the advance of the reinforcements under Tallard. Instead, therefore, of fulfilling his promise to meet the austrian plenipotentiary, and conclude the treaty, he sent his secretary to the appointed place with a message, announcing that since the french general was approaching to his succour with an army of 35,000 men, it was neither in his power, nor consistent with his honour, to desert an ally who made such efforts in his behalf.

The confederates had now no other alternative, than to visit the offences of the prince on his unfortunate subjects. Numerous villages were burnt or destroyed, and the whole country was given up to military execution, as far as the vicinity of Munich. But although Marlborough was thus compelled to fulfil the most unwelcome duty which can fall to a general, his private correspondence shews that he felt as a man, and deplored the sad necessity to which he was reduced. In one of his letters to the duchess, he observes:

“ July 30. The succours which the elector expects on Sunday, have given him so much resolution, that he has no thoughts of peace. However, we are in his country, and he will find it difficult to persuade us to quit it. We sent this morning 3,000 horse to his chief city of Munich, with orders to burn and destroy all the country about it. This is so contrary to my

nature, that nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean, that you would be pleased with them."

In another he says, "You will, I hope, believe me, that my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the elector will not hinder it. I shall never be easy and happy till I am quiet with you."

He also used his utmost exertions to restrain the wanton depredations of the german soldiery, and in his correspondence with the duchess, he particularly expresses his satisfaction that he had saved the luxuriant woods and forests, which at once formed the riches and ornament of the country.

In one of the preceding letters, Marlborough communicates an offer which had been secretly made by the emperor, through count Wratislaw, to reward his services with a principality of the empire. Amidst the transports of joy produced by the victory of Schellenberg, the proposal was renewed in still more pressing terms, and forms a prominent subject in the correspondence of Marlborough, during his progress in Bavaria. Writing from the camp at Purkheim to the duchess, July 16, he says:

"As to what is proposed by the emperor, I should be glad the lord treasurer and you should be informed of my intention in this matter, which is, that I have no thought that this should change my name or rank in England. But as none of my nation ever had the like, I think it may remain in after times, as an honour to the queen and to me. After all, I am very sure I will cheerfully submit, not only in this, but in all things that may concern me, to what shall be thought best by the queen, the lord treasurer, and you."

In a subsequent letter, from Aicha, he observes:

"Count Wratislaw has by order, again pressed me. I made no other answer, than that I was very sensible of the honour the emperor intended me, but that the queen's pleasure was to govern me in this, as in all things else. He then told me that the

emperor had writ to her majesty, and that he had ordered his minister at London, to desire an audience, in which he was to explain the emperor's intentions, and to desire that her majesty would lay her commands upon me. I beg you will let the queen know, that whatever is agreeable to her in this matter, is what I shall like best."

Before, however, the answer of the queen could reach the army, Marlborough had acquired a new and higher title to this honourable distinction.

CHAPTER 25.

1704.

Advance of Tallard from the Rhine—His junction with the elector of Bavaria—Arrival of Eugene in the plain of Blenheim—Critical situation of the confederates—Skilful manœuvres of Marlborough to unite the two armies—Investment of Ingoldstadt by the margrave—Movement of the gallo-bavarians to the left bank of the Danube—Communications of Eugene and Marlborough—Passage of the Danube by Marlborough, and junction of their forces on the Kessel—Position of the french at Hochstadt—Preparations and movements of the confederates for an engagement—Description of the valley of the Danube—The scene of the approaching conflict.

MEANWHILE the movements of the enemy created new embarrassments, and called forth the vigilance and resources of the british commander. Marshal Tallard, after losing five days in a fruitless attempt on Villingen, forded the Danube at Mosskirk, and emerged into the plains between Ulm, Biberach, and Memmingen. Leaving Ulm to the north west, he made a rapid march through Weissenhorn towards the Schmutter; and at Biberbach* came in communication with the electoral army, which had continued to maintain the position of Augsburg.

Prince Eugene, who had made a parallel march from the Rhine with a force of 18,000 men, reached the plains of Hochstadt, about the same time that the enemy effected their junction. The two confederate armies were thus too distant to afford mutual assistance; and might have been overwhelmed by superior numbers, had the enemy united and made a rapid movement against either, before

* Biberbach on the Schmutter. Several of the writers on this campaign have mistaken this Biberbach for the Biberach near Ulm.

they could come in contact. Their union was, however, by no means easy to be accomplished. If Eugene attempted to join the confederates in Bavaria, the gallo-bavarians by a retrograde march might have crossed the Danube, and interrupted the communication with Franconia and Wirtemberg. If Marlborough and the margrave retraced their steps to unite with Eugene, the enemy by traversing the Lech might have regained possession of Bavaria, and perhaps have forced them to abandon all the country south of the Danube.

So critical a situation required the most accurate combinations, and no less decision than activity; for at the same time that the confederate generals were to guard against the enterprises of an enemy occupying a central position, it was necessary to take measures for a speedy junction of the two armies on either bank of the Danube.

Marlborough and the margrave accordingly broke up from Friedberg, moved by Aicha towards Neuburg, and on the 6th of August encamped on the Paar near Schrobenhausen. At this awful crisis Eugene himself repaired to the quarters of Marlborough, to concert their future operations. As they could not maintain their footing in Bavaria, without the possession of Ingoldstadt, the margrave was readily persuaded to undertake the siege of a fortress which had hitherto never opened its gates to a conqueror. A double object was thus gained; for besides the advantage to be derived from the reduction of so valuable a post, Marlborough and Eugene would be delivered from the presence of a colleague, whose captious and unaccommodating temper was likely to clog their movements. The 7th was spent in reconnoitring the ground between the Paar and the Lech, for a strong defensive position, and in making arrangements with the margrave for the intended siege. On the ensuing day the army proceeded to Sandizel, from whence they could anticipate the expected movements of the enemy, either by advancing to Neuburg, or approaching the bridges laid near the conflux of the Lech and the Danube. On the 9th the margrave with 23 battalions and 31 squadrons departed for Ingoldstadt; and reports that the gallo-

bavarians had united and were marching towards the Danube, induced Marlborough to advance to Exheim. Here prince Eugene took his leave, to rejoin his own army; but scarcely had two hours elapsed, before he hurried back to apprise his colleague that the enemy were in full march towards Dillingen. This movement left no doubt of their intention to pass to the farther bank of the Danube, and overwhelm the small force left in the plains of Hochstadt. The troops of Eugene accordingly fell back to the Kessel, and the whole activity of Marlborough was employed to gain the other side of the Danube before the enemy could effect their purpose.

This, however, was an arduous operation; for besides the length of the march, the troops had to traverse the Aicha, the Lech the Danube and the Wernitz, all of which had been swollen by the late rains. It was nevertheless effected with his usual rapidity and success. At midnight of the 9th, the duke of Wirtemberg was detached at the head of 28 squadrons, with orders to traverse a pontoon bridge at Merxheim, and join the cavalry of Eugene. Soon afterwards general Churchill was sent with 20 battalions, accompanied by the artillery and baggage, to pass at the same point, and wait on the left bank for farther directions. The 10th in the morning Marlborough broke up with the main body, and at sunset pitched his camp between Mittelstadt and Peuchingen, with Rain in the front, and took up his quarters in the abbey of Nieder Schonfeldt, near the bridge leading to Merxheim. To quiet the alarms of the margrave, he promised to cover the siege of Ingoldstadt; and at the same time requested him to relieve a brigade posted at Neuburg, that it might rejoin the army.

While waiting for intelligence, he beguiled the anxious hours by writing an affectionate letter to the duchess, and imparting his situation and designs to Godolphin and Harley. We shall not advert to the dispatch addressed to the secretary, which has been already published, but shall introduce his confidential communication to Godolphin.

“ *Nieder Schonfeldt, August 10.*

“ By this post you will know that the elector and the two

marshals are marched with their whole army towards Lawingen, where they intend to pass the Danube, by which they abandon the whole country of Bavaria to prince Louis, having left only garrisons in Munich and Augsburg.

“I have this day ordered 28 squadrons and 20 battalions of foot to pass the Danube, for reinforcing prince Eugene’s army at Donawerth, and have given the necessary orders that I may follow with the whole army, as soon as I shall be certain that the elector and the marshals have passed the Danube with their whole army. By this march they intend to draw more troops from the marshal de Villeroy’s army; but we hope the situation of the country is such, that they will not be able to hinder us from going on with the siege, though they should be something stronger than we. When prince Eugene and I are joined, our army will consist of 160 squadrons, and 65 battalions. Prince Louis has with him, for the siege of Ingoldstadt 31 squadrons and 24 battalions. The french make their boasts of having a great superiority, but I am very confident they will not venture a battle. Yet if we find a fair occasion we shall be glad to embrace it, being persuaded that the ill condition of our affairs in most parts requires it. As we are now marching from the magazines we had at Aicha and Schrobenhausen, for our bread, I am afraid I shall be much put to it to get bread for the first ten days, notwithstanding the 200 waggons I am obliged to keep, without which we could not march till we had our magazines first made.”

Marlborough had scarcely retired to enjoy a short interval of rest, before an express arrived from Eugene, announcing that the enemy had crossed the Danube, and pressing for immediate succour. Indeed on returning to his camp, he found that the officers left in command had taken the alarm, and were preparing to fall back to the Schellenberg. As he was already joined by the duke of Wirtemberg, and as general Churchill was in a situation to support him, he maintained the line of the Kessel, with the cavalry; while he sent his baggage to Donawerth, and his infantry to the Schellenberg, with orders to prepare the entrenchments for defence. By repeated messengers he urged Marlborough to

accelerate his march, from a conviction that the enemy would advance on the ensuing day, because their detachments had already appeared near Steinheim.

The exertions of Marlborough were commensurate with the peril of the crisis. At midnight general Churchill received orders to advance and join Eugene, and within two hours the main army was in motion. For the sake of expedition, the second line, with the rear guard, passed the Danube over the bridge at Merxheim, while the first traversed the Lech opposite Rain, and the Danube at Donawerth; and at four in the afternoon the different columns filed over the Wernitz, under the eye of the commander himself. At six a communication was opened with Eugene, and the junction being completed at ten,* the combined armies encamped between Erlingshofen and Kessel-Ostheim, with the Kessel in their front, and the Danube on the left. The brigade of general Rowe, reinforced by a battalion of english guards, was pushed across the rivulet, to take post in front of Munster. At the dawn of the 12th, the generals were gratified by the arrival of the baggage and artillery, which had marched no less than 24 english miles on the preceding day.

It was the intention of Marlborough and Eugene to advance beyond the Nebel, and take up a position in the vicinity of Hochstadt. For this purpose, during the morning of the 12th, they proceeded at the head of the grand guards, to survey the ground in their front, and procure intelligence. On approaching Schweiningen, they observed several hostile squadrons at a distance; but being unable to form an accurate judgment of their force, they ascended the tower of Dapfheim church, from whence they descried the quarter masters of the gallo-bavarian army, marking out a camp beyond the Nebel, between Blenheim and Lutzingen. This discovery fulfilled the warmest wishes of the enterprising commanders. Aware that the confusion which is almost insepa-

* This account of the movements for the junction of the two armies is drawn from the private correspondence of Marlborough, and the printed dispatches, compared with Hare's Journal of the Campaign, Milner, and the different biographers of Marlborough.

rable from a change of camps, presents the most favourable opportunity for an attack, they determined to give battle, before the enemy could strengthen themselves in their new position. With this view they dispatched 400 pioneers, to level a ravine formed beyond Dapfheim by the Reichen, and the picket guards were called out to protect the work. Returning from their survey, they had scarcely sat down to their repast, before intelligence arrived that the squadrons seen in the morning, near Schweningen, were engaged with the pickets. The alarm was instantly spread; the two commanders remounted their horses, and directed the brigade of Rowe to file through Dapfheim, in support of the troops attacked. Several squadrons of cavalry, and twelve battalions of Marlborough's first line, commanded by lord Cutts, moved forward; and the prussian infantry, which formed part of the right wing, advanced towards the scene of conflict, along the skirt of the wooded eminences bordering the plain. The whole of the allied cavalry, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and the infantry prepared for action. But the alarm proved false; for the enemy being detached only for the purpose of gaining intelligence, retired after making a few prisoners. Two brigades under the command of general Wilkes and brigadier Rowe, were accordingly left for the defence of the pass, and the rest of the troops returned to camp.

Meanwhile the gallo-bavarians entered the position marked out, and extended their lines along the elevated ground, stretching from Blenheim to Lutzingen. Marshal Tallard took up his quarters at Blenheim, Marsin at Oberglauh, and the elector at Lutzingen.

As the preparations of the confederate generals indicated an approaching engagement, some officers, who were well acquainted with the superiority of the hostile forces, and the strength of their position, ventured to remonstrate with Marlborough on the temerity of the attempt. He heard them with calmness and attention; but conscious that the enemy would speedily fortify their position, while Villeroy advancing into Wirtemberg, would cut off the communication with Franconia, from whence the army drew the principal supplies, he answered, "I know the danger,

yet a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops, which will make amends for our disadvantages." In the evening orders were issued for a general engagement, and received by the army with an alacrity which justified his confidence.

At this solemn crisis Marlborough felt a deep and awful sense of his own responsibility, as well as of the impending peril. He devoted part of the night to prayer, and towards morning received the sacrament from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Hare, with marks of the warmest devotion. He then took a short repose, and employed the remaining interval in concerting with Eugene the various arrangements for a battle, which appeared to involve the fate of the christian world.

It is here proper to cast our view over the ground which was to become the theatre of conflict. The valley of the Danube, which stretches from the Kessel north west to Dillingen, is seven english miles in length, and irregular in breadth. The widest part is from the sources to the mouth of the Nebel, a distance of nearly three miles, the narrowest near Dapfheim, where the wooded eminences advance within half a mile of one branch of the Danube. On one side, the Danube winds in a tortuous bed, 300 feet broad, in no point fordable, and between banks either precipitous or swampy, On the opposite side, the valley is bounded by a series of wooded eminences, which vary its outline, by spreading into different ramifications. From these flow numerous rivulets, which descend into the Danube; and the whole space is intersected by ravines, and dotted with towns, villages, and dwellings.

In reference to the events of this memorable day, the whole valley may be divided into three parts. The first from the Kessel to the Nebel, the second to the Schwanbach, the third to Dillingen. For the features of the first and last we shall refer to the plan, only calling the attention of the reader to the defile of Dapfheim, where a narrow pass might have enabled the enemy to oppose considerable obstructions to the advance of the allies, had they been sufficiently prompt in seizing the advantage.

The middle portion, which was the scene of conflict, merits a more particular description. Here the valley is not only more capacious, but more thickly dotted with villages and dwellings. Nearly in the middle runs the Nebel, or Hasel,* which derives its waters from several sources rising in the heights above Schwenenbach, and Lutzingen, and from Oberglauh, flows into the Danube in a single channel. At the mouth, the breadth is no more than twelve feet. Near the confluence is Blenheim,* which is divided from the Nebel by a narrow slip of swelling ground; while behind the village commences a flat eminence or table land, which expanding as it bends towards Oberglauh, slopes gently on the right, and is bounded on the north-west by the range of woody hills, above Lutzingen. In the lower, or south-eastern part of this eminence, rises a streamlet called the Meulweyer, which flowing through Blenheim in a double channel, is soon lost in the Danube.

Nearly two miles above Blenheim is Oberglauh, seated on the acclivity, about musket shot from the Nebel, and on the opposite side is Unterglauh, standing on the very brink of the stream. The ground bordering the Nebel, particularly between Oberglauh and Blenheim, is generally marshy, and in many places impassable. Below Unterglauh the morass expands to a considerable breadth, and nearer Blenheim is a species of islet, formed by a channel cut into the boggy soil, for the purpose of receiving the superfluous water from a spring, which rises near the foot of the acclivity. On the main stream, a little above Blenheim, are two water mills, which were well adapted to serve as redoubts for impeding the passage. Between Unterglauh and Blenheim, near the point of the islet, is a stone bridge, over which runs the great road from Donawerth to Dillingen.

* The names of these places are differently spelled according to the german, french, and english orthography. Blenheim is properly Plintheim, called also Blindheim, but use has consecrated the first appellation. Dapfheim is called Tapfheim and Thiffingen; Weilheim, Rotweiler; Kremheim, Greinheim and Gremen. The Nebel is also denominated Hasel. Oberglauh and Unterglauh are properly written Oberglauheim and Unterglauheim; Lutzingen is also denominated by Tallard, Leitzheim.

Higher up, in the gorge of the mountains, about a mile to the east of Oberglauh, is Lutzingen, bordered on the north and east, within musket shot, by woods and ravines.

On the left of the Nebel the plain is uneven, and partly covered with brush wood. In the vicinity of Schwenenbach and Berghausen, the ground becomes still more undulating. Near Weilheim, it rises into a gentle elevation, and consists of arable and to the declivity bordering on the Danube.*

* For the description and plan of the valley of the Danube, I am indebted to major Smith. They are principally taken from the Survey of the Danube, now publishing; the Great German Map in above 200 sheets—and the New Map of Wirtemberg and Suabia—as well as the plans of the battles of 1796, published at Vienna, in the Grundsetze der Strategie, compared with the accounts of the different authors who have described the battle, and the observations of major the honourable George Blaquiére, who served with the austrian army in 1796, and was quartered at Hochstadt. Also, *Conduite du Duc de Marlborough dans la presente guerre*, 1712.

CHAPTER 26.

1704.

BATTLE of BLENHEIM.*

ON the memorable 13th of August, at two in the morning, the allied generals having detached their baggage to Rietlingen, broke

* In this engagement it is as difficult to discover the respective numbers of the two armies as in most others, which in some degree arises from the uncertain mode of computation by battalions and squadrons.

The order of battle which is preserved in the king's library, states the confederate army at 66 battalions and 166 squadrons; but of these, some are admitted to have been absent, and others unaccounted for.

Tallard computes the army of Marlborough at 49 battalions of 500 men each, and 88 squadrons of 160; and that of Eugene at 18 battalions and 78 squadrons; in all, 67 battalions and 166 squadrons, or 38,000 infantry and 26,560 cavalry, a total of 64,560 men. This exaggeration is evidently intended, to extenuate his defeat.

Marlborough in his letter to the States, computed the combined troops at 64 battalions and 166 squadrons, of which 1,500 horse were not present at the battle, making 32,000 infantry and 18,420 cavalry, allowing 500 for each battalion, and 120 for each squadron; to which number we may add about 1,500 men, in consequence of the superior strength of the German squadrons. This statement justifies us in estimating the whole confederate force at 52,000 men.

Lettre du maréchal de Tallard à Chamillard, Nov. 3, 1704—Campagnes de Marsin, t. 2, p. 30—Letter from Marlborough to the States, Aug. 17, 1704—Ledyard, b. 1, p. 405.

According to Hare's Journal the component parts of the two confederate armies, were

ARMY OF MARLBOROUGH.		ARMY OF EUGENE.	
Battalions.	Squadrons.	Battalions.	Squadrons.
British..... 14	14	Danes	7 ... Prussians
Dutch	14	Prussians.....	11 ... Imperial
Hessian	7		... Suabian
Hanoverian-Zell 13	25		... Franconian
Danes	22		... and Wirtemberg
—	—	—	—
48	86	18	74

This estimate agrees with the computation of the duke in his letter to the States, in the number of the battalions; and of the squadrons herein mentioned, some were absent.

up their camp, leaving the tents standing; and at three the troops, amounting to 52,000 men, passed the Kessel in eight columns. The right wing was commanded by Eugene, the left by Marlborough, and the aggregate force amounted to 52,000 men, with 52 pieces of artillery and a train of pontoons.

The army of Eugene, filing by the right, was divided into two columns of infantry and two of cavalry, the artillery following the infantry, and the cavalry closing the march. The army of Marlborough filing by the left, broke also into two columns of infantry and two of cavalry, the cavalry being on the left, and the artillery following the infantry. On reaching the bank of the Reichen, they came into parallel order and halted. Here the out-posts joined their respective corps. The two brigades of Wilks and Rowe, which on the preceding evening had been stationed in front of Dapfheim, were formed into a ninth column, and reinforced with eleven battalions from the first line, and fifteen squadrons of cavalry. This column was designed to cover the march of the english and dutch artillery along the great road, and to attack the village of Blenheim, the possession of which would facilitate the passage of the main army over the Nebel, and open the right flank of the enemy.

The troops of Marlborough were directed to form on the ground stretching from Welheim to Kremheim, while those of Eugene, passing along the skirts of the hills in the rear of Wolperstetten, Berghausen, and Schwenenbach, were to prolong the line to the extremity of the valley, as far as Eichberg. From these general arrangements it appears that the allied commanders intended to make their first efforts against Blenheim and Lutzingen, which covered the flanks of the enemy. The subsequent changes arose from the locality of the ground, and the order adopted by their antagonists. After these preliminary dispositions the troops resumed their march in silence. Meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene, escorted by forty squadrons, rode forward to observe the situation of the enemy. They were accompanied by the prussian general, Natzmer, who had been made prisoner in the battle fought here between Stirum and Villars, the preceding year, and

was acquainted with the local peculiarities. About six they descried the advanced posts of the enemy falling back on their approach, and at seven, reaching the higher ground near Wolperstetten, they came in full view of the hostile camp. From hence they could trace the course of the Nebel, and learned that it might be traversed at the houses and water-mills, near the right of the enemy; but that the islet and the banks towards Oberglauh were deemed too swampy to be passable. They observed also, that the ground on the hither side, as far as Unterglauh was sufficiently high to protect the passage of the rivulet, but that the plain beyond the farther bank, on which the troops must form for the attack, was commanded by the eminence occupied by the enemy. To these peculiarities they adapted their plan.

The morning being hitherto partially hazy, the gallo-bavarians did not even suspect the approach of the enemy.* Deceived by the intelligence which they had obtained from the prisoners taken on the preceding evening, they detached their cavalry to forage, and being persuaded that the allies were falling back on Nordlingen, they considered the guard which attended Marlborough and Eugene, as a body of cavalry pushed forward to cover this retrograde movement. But at seven, the fog dispersing, the heads of Eugene's columns were descried behind Berghausen, and the alarm was instantly given. Signal guns were fired to recall the foragers, and the advanced corps committing Berghausen, Schwenenbach, and Weilheim to the flames, fell back to the main body. Confusion pervaded the lines, the artillery was hurried forward, and the troops were observed hastening to form at the head of the camp.

* If any doubt should remain, that the gallo-bavarian commanders were completely surprised, it will be removed by the avowal of Tallard himself, in a postscript to a letter, dated camp de Leitzheim, (the very morning of the battle.) "Ce 13, au point du jour les ennemis ont battu la générale à 2 heures, à 3 l'assemblée. On les voit en bataille à la tête de leur camp, et suivant les apparences ils marcheront aujourd'hui. Le bruit du pays est qu'ils vont à Nordlingen. Si cela est, ils nous laissent entre le Danube et eux; et par conséquent ils auront de la peine à soutenir les établissemens qu'ils ont pris en Bavière.—Campagnes de Tallard, t. 2, p. 140. From this letter, who could have supposed that in a few hours his whole army would have been defeated, and himself a prisoner.

The gallo-bavarian army consisted of 56,000 men,* and was drawn up in front of the tents, according to the order of encampment.

The united troops of the elector and Marsin formed on the left with the cavalry on their right, the army of Tallard on the right with the cavalry on the left, so that the centre consisted of horse and the wings of foot. This order was adopted on the supposition that the Nebel was impassable from Oberglauh to the mills. The lines extended from the commencement of the acclivity behind Blenheim, along the crest of the eminence to the rear of Oberglauh, and from thence crossing a branch of the Nebel, to the woods above Lutzingen.

As every moment afforded fresh indications of the approaching contest, Tallard proceeded to make ulterior arrangements. Hastening to Blenheim, he ordered a brigade of dragoons under the count de Hautefeuille to dismount, and form between the village and the Danube, behind a barricade of waggons. He then directed all the infantry of the first line, and part of the second to enter the village, and placed the three brigades of Navarre, Artois, and Gueder, with their right joining the left of the dismounted dragoons, behind the pallisades which enclosed the gardens. The openings between the houses and gardens were closed with boards, carts, and gates. Behind the hedges to the left of the village, he posted the brigade of Zurlauben; in the centre among the houses, that of Languedoc to the right; in the rear the royal brigade, and behind the Meulweyer that of Montroux, to act as a reserve. Two hundred men were also thrown into the castle and church-yard, and small bridges formed across the

* Tallard admits that his own force consisted of 36 battalions and 44 squadrons, and that of Marsin of 41 battalions and 85 squadrons, besides 5 bavarian battalions and 23 squadrons posted on the extreme left, in all 82 battalions and 152 squadrons. Marlborough states them at 82 battalions and 147 squadrons.

We have, therefore, perhaps rather under-rated the number by computing the gallo-bavarians at 56,000 men, which gives a superiority of 4,000 over the confederates.

Letters of Tallard and Marsin, already referred to in the first note—Correspondence of Marlborough.

Meulweyer to facilitate the communications. The mills on the Nebel and adjacent houses, which were likely to favour the approach of an enemy, were set on fire. A battalion of artillery was distributed on different points, and lieutenant-general de Clerambault was enjoined to maintain the village to the last extremity.

Eight squadrons of gens d'armes drew up to the left of Blenheim, and from thence the line, including the right wing of the electoral army, amounting to about fifty squadrons, was prolonged to near Oberglauh. Behind this village was the infantry of Marsin, consisting of the brigades of Champagne, and Bourbonnois, and the Irish brigade, in all about 30 battalions. Beyond were more battalions extending to the left, and covering the flank of the cavalry, who were drawn up in front of Lutzingen. Strong pickets of infantry occupied Oberglauh, and 18 french and bavarian battalions, who had at first been posted in Lutzingen, were drawn out to form an oblique flank among the woods, on the extreme left of the cavalry.* The second line of the united troops, under the elector and Marsin, was formed in the same order as the first, but in that of Tallard, were stationed three brigades of infantry in the center of the cavalry. Behind was a reserve of horse, which could not find a place in the lines. Tallard observing the increasing mass of the allies in the center, sent an aide de camp to his colleague, requesting that his reserve might likewise be posted behind the center, to resist the attack which he foresaw was meditated on that point; but this proposal was declined by Marsin, from an apprehension that his whole force would be required to withstand the attack of Eugene.†

* These battalions are generally considered as all bavarians, but without foundation; because from the account of Marsin, there were only five bavarian battalions in the army, the remainder of the electoral troops having been left in the different garrisons. It has likewise been erroneously asserted that the infantry, posted on the extreme left, amounted to only nine battalions, on the authority of Quincy and other french writers. This however could not have been the fact, for so small a number could not have resisted the attacks of 18 battalions of choice troops, like the prussians and danes. Besides in examining the french line of battalions, of which the position is not ascertained, we find several omitted. Probably the infantry on this wing were formed in two lines of nine battalions each, of which only the first line has been noticed.

† Lettre de Tallard à Chamillard, Novembre 3—Campagnes de Tallard.

The artillery was distributed with judgment. Four twenty-four pounders were planted on the high ground above Blenheim, to sweep the plain of Schweningen. Four eight pounders were also pointed against the columns of Marlborough, as soon as they appeared about the high road leading towards Unterglauch. Before the *gens d'armes* was another battery of twenty-four pounders, and the other pieces were disposed along the front of the different brigades. Zurlauben, who commanded the right wing of Tallard's cavalry, was directed to charge the allies whenever a certain number should have crossed the Nebel. Tallard rode along his lines to the left, and communicated his arrangements to the elector and Marsin. The three generals then visited the other points of their position, to mature the preparations, against the attack of Eugene, whose columns continued to stretch along the elevated ground behind Berghausen.

About seven the troops of Marlborough reached their respective points of formation, and began to deploy. Officers were detached to sound the Nebel, and indicate the spots which were most passable, and the different generals assembled round the commanders to receive their orders.

Two defects in the position of the enemy did not escape the vigilant eyes of the confederate generals. Blenheim and Oberglauch were too distant from each other to sweep the intervening space with a cross fire, and the lines of cavalry on the elevated ground were too remote from the rivulet to obstruct the passage. Of these defects they prepared to take advantage. While Eugene bore on the front and left flank of the troops under the elector and Marsin, Marlborough was to push his cavalry across the Nebel, under the protection of his foot, and to charge the hostile cavalry, at the same time that the effort was made to carry Blenheim. With this view he ordered general Churchill to draw up the infantry in two lines, the first of seventeen, and the second of eleven battalions, in the direction of Weilheim; and between them an interval was left for the two lines of cavalry, the first of 36 and the second of 35 squadrons. Novel as this disposition may appear, it was skillfully adapted to the nature of the ground, and the situation of the

enemy; for the first line of infantry by traversing the Nebel would cover the passage of the cavalry, while the second, acting as a reserve, would support the manœuvre from the hither bank. The pontoons being brought forward, the construction of five bridges was begun, one above Unterglauch, and four between that village and the mills, while the stone bridge, which had been damaged by the enemy, was repaired.

As a short interval of time was yet left, each squadron of the second line was ordered to collect twenty fascines to facilitate the passage of the fords.

During these preparations, the ninth column, destined for the attack of Blenheim, had filed through Schweningen, and inclining to the left above Kremheim, drew up in four lines of infantry and two of cavalry. The first line consisted of Rowe's brigade, the second of Hessians, the third of Ferguson's, and the fourth of Hanoverians. The first line of cavalry was formed by the dragoons of Ross, and the second by part of Wood's brigade.

At eight a heavy cannonade was opened from every part of the enemy's right wing. Marlborough therefore ordered colonel Blood, who had just arrived with the artillery, to plant counter batteries on the most advantageous spots, particularly on the high ground below Unterglauch. He himself visited each battery as it opened, to mark the effect.

Meanwhile the imperialists had continued filing to the right, and Eugene's presence became necessary to direct his attack. On taking leave of his colleague, he promised to give notice as soon as his lines were formed, that the battle might begin on both wings at the same instant.

While Marlborough waited for this communication, he ordered the chaplains to perform the usual service at the head of each regiment, and implore the favour of heaven; and he was observed to join with peculiar fervour in this solemn appeal to the Giver of Victory. After this act of devotion, he shewed his usual humanity in pointing out to the surgeons the proper posts for the care of the wounded. He then rode along the lines, and was gratified to find both officers and men full of the most elevated hopes, and impa-

tient for the signal. As he passed along the front, a ball from one of the opposite batteries glanced under his horse, and covered him with earth. A momentary feeling of alarm for the safety of their beloved chief, thrilled in the bosoms of all who witnessed the danger; but he coolly continued his survey, and finding his dispositions perfect, sat down to take refreshment, while he waited for the reports of Eugene.

At this period the cannonade grew warm and general. On the left the fire of the enemy was answered with spirit and effect; but on the right great difficulty occurred in bringing up the artillery; for the ground being extremely broken, covered with brush wood, and intersected by ravines and rivulets, the troops of Eugene were obliged to make a considerable circuit before they could gain their intended position; and during their formation were exposed to a long and destructive fire.

Unaware of these obstacles, and impatient of delay, Marlborough sent repeated messengers to learn the situation of his colleague. He was apprised that Eugene had formed his lines with the infantry on the right and the cavalry on the left; but as the enemy presented a more extensive front, he had found it necessary to fill up the interval with the reserve. This change of disposition was not only difficult in itself, but to the regret of Marlborough, retarded the attack at the moment when the arrangements on the left were completed, and the troops were anxiously expecting the signal to engage.

About mid-day, an aide de camp arrived with the joyful intelligence that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly mounted his horse and ordered lord Cutts to begin the attack on Blenheim, while he led the main body towards the Nebel, where the bridges were nearly completed.

At one the attack on Blenheim commenced. The troops selected for this service inclined to the right, and descending to the bank of the Nebel, took possession of the two mills under a heavy fire of grape. Having effected their purpose, they drew up on the farther bank, where they were covered by the rising slip of ground. They then deliberately advanced towards the enclosures,

and at the distance of thirty paces received the first discharge of the enemy. Many brave officers and soldiers fell; but the gallant general Rowe, who commanded the leading brigade, stuck his sword into the pallisades before he gave the word to fire. In a few minutes, one third of the troops composing the first line were either killed or wounded, and all efforts to force their way against an enemy superior in number and advantageously posted, were ineffectual. General Rowe himself was mortally wounded by a musket ball. His own lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove the body, and the line, discouraged and broken, fell back on the hessians, who were advancing. At this moment three squadrons of gens d'armes charged the right flank of the disordered troops, and seized their colours, but were repelled by the hessians, who after recovering the colours, drove the assailants back to their line. Lord Cutts observing new squadrons preparing to advance, sent an aide-de-camp for a reinforcement of cavalry to cover his exposed flank; and general Lumley, who commanded nearest the spot, detached five squadrons under colonels Palm, and Sybourg, across the Nebel.

Having cleared the swamp with difficulty, they had scarcely formed, before five squadrons of gens d'armes saluted them with a fire of musketballs. The allied horse instantly charging sword in hand, drove them back through the intervals of the brigade of Silly, which was in the second line. They however suffered severely; for being galled in flank by the musketry from Blenheim, and assailed by the brigades in front, they were repulsed in disorder, and must have recrossed the Nebel, had not the brave hessians a second time repelled the french horse.

The enemy having placed four additional pieces of artillery upon the height near Blenheim, swept the fords of the Nebel with grape shot. But notwithstanding this destructive fire, the brigades of Ferguson and Hulsén crossed near the lower water-mill, and advanced in front of the village. The enemy therefore withdrew the guns within their defences, and met the attack with such vigour, that after three successive repulses, the assailants halted under cover of the rising ground.

From the border of the Nebel Marlborough anxiously surveyed this unequal conflict. Finding that Blenheim was occupied by a powerful body, instead of a detachment of infantry, and observing that the enemy were drawing down towards the Nebel, to prevent his cavalry from forming on the farther bank, he ordered the troops of lord Cutts to keep up a feigned attack, by firing in platoons over the crest of the rising ground, while he himself hastened the dispositions for the execution of his grand design.

During this interval the passage of the Nebel was already begun by general Churchill, who had pushed a part of the infantry over the bridges in the vicinity of Unterglauch, which was still in flames. As soon as they began to form on the farther bank, the first line of cavalry broke into columns, and descended to the fords. Some threw fascines into the stream, or formed bridges with the planks of the pontoons, while others plunged into the water, and waded through the swamp towards the point of the islet.

The enemy observed them struggling for a passage, and removing a part of the guns from Blenheim, enfiladed their crowded columns.

Scarcely had the confederate horse disengaged themselves, and begun to advance their right beyond the front of the infantry, before they were attacked by Zurlauben with the first line of cavalry, supported by the fire of artillery and musketry from Blenheim. Exhausted by their preceding efforts, and unable to present a connected line, they were borne down by the weight of the charge, and several squadrons on the left were driven to the very brink of the rivulet. Fortunately a part of the infantry was now sufficiently formed to check the pursuit of the enemy by a heavy fire, as soon as the broken troops had cleared their front; while the second line of cavalry advancing, several squadrons wheeled on the right of the french, and drove them behind the sources of the Meulweyer. These were incorporated with the first line; five additional squadrons were instantly led up to prolong the left; and the whole body in compact order, halted on the hither bank of the Meulweyer, with the left flank stretching towards the outer hedges of Blenheim. They did not however long maintain

their advantage ; for two battalions of the royal brigade filing along the inclosures to the left of the village, opened a galling fire on their flank. The nearest squadrons gave way, and the hostile cavalry, except the gens d'armes, resumed their original position.

Meanwhile the passage of the Nebel was nearly completed in the center. The broken squadrons again rallied, notwithstanding the concentrated fire of the enemy on the fords ; and by the exertions of general Lumley, the whole left was drawn up beyond the Nebel.

Hompesch, with the dutch cavalry, was likewise in line, and the duke of Wirtemberg began to extend the danes and hanoverians in the direction of Oberglauh. The remaining battalions of infantry were also rapidly moving into the assigned position.

In proportion as the lines extended, the conflict which had commenced in the vicinity of Blenheim, spread towards Oberglauh. The danish and hanoverian cavalry being charged by the right wing of Marsin, many squadrons were driven across the Nebel ; and though they resumed the attack, yet being out-flanked and enfiladed by the fire of the troops in and near Oberglauh, they were again repulsed. While the battle fluctuated on this point, the prince of Holstein Beck, who had cannonaded the enemy from the elevation near Weilheim, descended to the Nebel, and began to pass with eleven battalions above Oberglauh. Scarcely, however, did the head of this column appear beyond the rivulet, before it was charged by nine battalions, including the Irish brigade, which particularly distinguished itself. Application was made for support to the contiguous squadrons of imperial horse, which were drawn up within musket shot ; but the demand being refused, the two foremost battalions were nearly cut to pieces, and the duke of Holstein Beck himself mortally wounded, and made prisoner.

Marlborough observed the disaster, and was conscious that not a moment was to be lost, in gaining a point on which the success of his plan depended. He galloped to the spot, led the brigade of Bernsdorf across the rivulet below Oberglauh, and posted them himself. He then ordered the artillery to be brought down from

Weilheim for their support, and directed some squadrons of danes and hanoverians to cover their left. As the cavalry of Marsin evinced an intention to charge, he led forward several squadrons of the imperialists, and finally compelled the enemy to retire into Oberglauh, or to fall back beyond. By this prompt and masterly movement, he established a connection with the army of Eugene; for while this small body of infantry divided the attention of the enemy, and protected the left of the imperialists, who were forming above Oberglauh, they covered the right of the great line of cavalry, and masked the offensive movement which Marlborough meditated against Tallard.

It was now three in the afternoon, and Marlborough returned to the center, after dispatching lord Tunbridge to announce his success, and learn the situation of his colleague.

Having described the progress of the battle on the left, we turn our attention to the army of Eugene.

About one the first onset commenced. The prince of Anhalt, who commanded the infantry, prolonged his line towards the gorge of the mountains, to take the enemy in flank, and traversed the main stream of the Nebel. Being, however, obliged to halt for the arrival of the artillery, his troops were exposed to the destructive fire of a battery in front of Lutzingen. At length a counter battery being placed near the verge of the wood, the troops again moved forward in columns, filing across the stream, and forming as they advanced.

The danes attacked the enemy posted near the skirt of the wood, and the prussians driving back the hostile infantry, after a sanguinary conflict carried the battery, which had spread destruction through their ranks. At this moment, the imperial horse breaking into columns, forded the stream, and drove the first line of the bavarian cavalry through the intervals of the second. Being, however, broken in their turn by the second, they were pursued across the Nebel, to their original position on the border of the wood. Some of the hostile squadrons then wheeled to the left, fell on the flank of the prussian infantry, recovered the battery, and forced them to retreat.

At the distance of two hundred paces, the broken infantry made a stand, but being assailed by increasing numbers, were driven back with a heavy loss. The danes, discouraged by the fate of their companions, relinquished the ground which they had gained, and a total route might have ensued, had not the prince of Anhalt rushed into the thickest of the combat, animated the drooping spirits of the men, and drawn them back to the point, when they were covered by the wood.

Meanwhile, Eugene rallying the cavalry, led them again to the charge. They were at first successful; but being unsupported by the infantry, and enfiladed both from Oberglauh and the battery in front of Lutzingen, were a second time broken, and fell back in disorder across the Nebel. Fortunately the dutch brigade of Heidenbrecht, which formed part of Marlborough's right, had now taken a position above Oberglauh. As these troops masked the movements of the imperialists, Eugene, after restoring order among his cavalry, again led them across the Nebel, and advanced towards the enemy.

Both parties being equally exhausted, they paused before they came in contact, at such a small distance, as enabled every individual to mark the countenance of his opponent. In this awful suspense, the elector was seen emulating the conduct of Eugene, riding from rank to rank, encouraging the brave, and rousing the timid by his voice and example. At the same time, the prince of Anhalt, after changing the front of the infantry, advanced obliquely, stretching the right of his line towards the wood, to take the enemy in flank. As soon as he had reached the proper point, the signal for a new charge was given. But the imperial cavalry were discouraged by the double repulse: their onset was feeble, momentary, and indecisive; their line was again broken, and they fled in utter confusion a third time beyond the Nebel.

In a transport of despair, Eugene left the prince of Hanover and the duke of Wirtemberg to rally the horse, and flew to the infantry, who still maintained the attack with incredible resolution. Stung by the prospect of defeat, he rashly exposed his person, and was in danger of being shot by a bavarian dragoon

but was saved by one of his own men, who sabred the trooper at the very moment he was taking the fatal aim. The daring example of the chief exciting the emulation of his troops, they at length turned the left flank of the enemy, and after a sanguinary struggle, drove them back through the wood, and across the ravine, beyond Lutzingen. Still, however, their situation was perilous in the extreme. Unsupported by the horse, their very success had placed them in a position, from which it was difficult to retreat, and dangerous to advance, had the enemy been enabled to resume the attack.

In the midst of this protracted contest, the battle drew to a crisis on the left. The troops of Marlborough had finally effected the passage of the Nebel, and at five his dispositions were completed. The cavalry were formed in two strong lines, fronting the enemy, and the infantry ranged in their rear towards the left, with intervals between the battalions, to favour the retreat of such squadrons as should experience a repulse. In the course of the successive efforts made by one party to maintain their ground, and by the other to advance, Tallard had interlaced the cavalry with nine battalions of infantry, originally posted in the second line. This skilful disposition being instantly perceived by the officers commanding on the correspondent point of the allied front; to counteract it, three battalions of hanoverians were brought forward, and placed in a similar manner, supported by several pieces of artillery. Amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the allies moving up the ascent made a charge, but were unable to break the firm order of the enemy, and fell back sixty paces, though they still maintained themselves on the brow of the acclivity. After another awful pause, the conflict was renewed with artillery and small arms; the fire of the enemy was gradually overpowered; and their infantry, after displaying the most heroic valour, began to shrink from the tempest of balls which rapidly thinned their ranks. Marlborough seized this moment to make a new charge, and the troops pressed forward with so much bravery and success, that the french horse were again broken; and the nine battalions being abandoned, were cut to pieces or made

prisoners. The consequence of this shock was fatal, for the right wing of Marsin's cavalry fell back to avoid a flank attack, and left an interval in the center of the line.

Tallard perceiving his situation hopeless, made a desperate effort, not for victory but for safety. He drew up the remainder of his cavalry and the nearest squadrons of Marsin, behind the tents, in a single line, with their right extended towards Blenheim, to extricate the infantry posted in the village, and dispatched an officer with orders for its immediate evacuation. At the same time he sent messengers to the left, pressing his colleague either to support him with a reinforcement, or make an offensive movement to divide the attention of his antagonists. But the mischief was irreparable. The elector and Marsin were too closely pressed to comply with his request; and Marlborough observing the weakness of his line, and the exposed situation of his right flank, saw that the decisive moment of victory was arrived. The trumpets sounded the charge, and the allied horse rushed forward with tremendous force.

The hostile cavalry did not await the shock; but after a scattered volley, fled in the utmost dismay, the left towards Hochstadt, and the right, reduced to thirty squadrons, in the direction of Sonderheim. Marlborough instantly detached Hompesch, with thirty squadrons, in pursuit of the first, and himself with the rest of the cavalry, following the remainder, drove many down the declivity near Blenheim, into the Danube, and the Schwanbach. Numbers were killed or taken in the route, and many perished in the attempt to swim across the Danube.

A crowd of fugitives slipped under cover of the bank, and crossed the Schwanbach, hoping to reach Hochstadt; but being entangled in the morass, bordering the Brunnen, and cut off from the high road by the dragoons of Bothmar, they took refuge in a coppice. In the terror of the moment, some forced their way through the dragoons, and others plunging into the Danube, perished in the sight of their terrified companions. Among those who escaped, was the marquis de Hantefort. Joining the brigade of Grignan, which still remained in a body, on the bank of the

Brunnen, he advanced against the dragoons of Bothmar, and extricated the remnant of the gens d'armes, who were yet mounted. But fresh squadrons of the allies advancing, the french fell back to the height beyond Hochstadt, and withdrew the wounded, who had been carried thither in the heat of the engagement.

Still, however, marshal Tallard and several of his principal officers, with a body of cavalry, who had followed them in the route, remained near Sonderheim. Cut off on one side, by the allied horse, and on the other, unwilling to encounter almost certain death, by plunging into the Danube, they had no alternative but to submit to the fate of war. Tallard delivered his sword to the aide-de-camp to the prince of Hesse, and with him surrendered many officers of distinction. They were immediately conducted to the victorious commander, and received with all the attention which was due to their character and misfortune.

During these events, Hompesch had continued to press on the broken squadrons of the retreating enemy. They attempted to rally, after crossing the Brunnen, near Diessenhofen; but on the approach of their pursuers, were seized with a panic, and fled towards Morselingen. At the same time two battalions of infantry, who had formed with them, purchased their safety by yielding up their arms.

From the verge of the wood above Lutzingen, where Eugene had halted after his last attack, he witnessed the advance of his colleague, and the final charge, which ended in the wreck of Tallard's army. Observing the right of Marsin filing towards the rear, and the bavarian infantry pouring into Lutzingen, he rightly judged that his opponents were preparing to retreat. He instantly renewed the conflict with the infantry, though supported only by two squadrons, and forced his way through the woods and ravines towards Lutzingen. After an arduous struggle, his troops emerged into the plain, and he halted for the approach of the cavalry, who had pressed on the bavarian horse in their retreat. The flames, which burst forth at Oberglauh and Lutzingen, proved that the enemy had abandoned those places, and were hastening to withdraw from their perilous situation.

The attention of Marlborough was now turned to the movements of the elector and Marsin. Perceiving the advance of Eugene and the conflagration of Oberglauh and Lutzingen, he recalled the cavalry of Hompesch, and joining them with additional squadrons, prepared to charge the enemy, who were rapidly filing in good order, along the skirt of the wood towards Morselingen. Such an attack would probably have terminated in the utter ruin of their whole army; but it was prevented by one of those accidents which often occur in the confusion of battles. The troops of Eugene appeared behind those of the enemy, in a situation to bear on the flank of the victorious cavalry; and as the fall of night and the clouds of smoke which hung over the field, rendered the view indistinct, they were mistaken for a part of the electoral army. Marlborough, therefore, countermanded the order for harassing the gallo-bavarians in their retreat; and although closely pursued by the cavalry of Eugene, they drew up under cover of the wood between Lutzingen and Morselingen. Having collected the remnant of the defeated wing, they fell back on the approach of night in the direction of Dillingen.

The fate of the day was no sooner decided, than Marlborough taking from a pocket-book a slip of paper, wrote a hasty note to the duchess, announcing his victory.

“August 13, 1704.”

“I have not time to say more, but to beg you will give my duty to the queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large.”

*“MARLBOROUGH.”**

* This note is preserved in the family archives at Blenheim, as one of the most curious memorials which perhaps exists. It was written on a slip of paper, which was evidently torn from a memorandum book, and contains on the back a bill of tavern expences. The book may probably have belonged to some commissary, as there is an entry relative to bread furnished to the troops.

Colonel Parke, the aide-de-camp, who was the bearer of this intelligence, requested to

The fate of the troops posted in Blenheim, still remained undecided. They had witnessed the event of the battle, without making any attempt to escape; because the officer dispatched with the order, had been prevented from reaching the village, by the last fatal charge. Finding themselves insulated by the defeat of the cavalry, they used the utmost exertion to maintain their post to the last extremity. The commander, monsieur de Clerambault, being lost in the Danube, they were left without a chief and without orders, but awaited their destiny with a firmness which merited a better fate.

As soon as the plain was cleared, general Churchill led his infantry towards the rear of the village, and extended his right flank to the Danube; while general Meredith, with the queen's regiment, took possession of a small barrier which had been formed to preserve a communication along the bank, with Hochstadt.

These movements roused the enemy from a state of sullen desperation. They first attempted to escape by the rear of the village, and being repulsed, rushed towards the road leading to Sonderheim. Here they were again checked by the Scots Greys, who were led forward to the crest of the acclivity by general Lumley. They finally attempted to emerge by the opening towards Oberglauh, when eight squadrons of horse under general Ross, compelled them again to take refuge behind the houses and inclosures.

Though encompassed by inevitable perils, they obstinately maintained their post, and it became necessary to recur to a general attack on every accessible point of the village. Lord Cutts was ordered to occupy their attention on the side of the Nebel, while lord Orkney, with eight battalions, attacked the church-yard, and general Ingolsby, with four more, supported by the dragoons of

have the queen's picture, instead of the usual gratification of £500; and the request was granted. His portrait, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, is still in the possession of William Dillon, esq., whose late wife was great niece to colonel Parke. He is represented with the queen's picture in miniature pendent from his neck by a red ribbon, the dispatch in his right hand, and the battle in the back ground.

GR August 13 1704

I have not time to
say more, but to beg
You will give my Duty
to the Queen, and let
her know Her Army
has had a glorious
Victory Mon^r Tallard
and two other Generals
are in my Coach and
I am following the rest.
The bearer my Aid de Camp
Col Parker will give Her

and account of what
has passed, I shall be
very happy to see
you and your wife

Yours truly
J. M. Smith

Ross, endeavoured to penetrate on the side of the opening towards Oberglauh. Several batteries, planted within musket shot, co-operated in these attacks, and one of the howitzers set fire to the houses and barns.

A vigorous struggle ensued. But on one side the prospect of a sanguinary, though successful attack, and on the other, of a fruitless, though destructive defence, induced the contending parties to spare the effusion of blood. A parley took place, and the french proposed a capitulation; but general Churchill riding forward, insisted on an unconditional surrender. No resource remained: to resist was hopeless, to escape impossible. With despair and indignation, the troops submitted to their fate, and the regiment of Navarre, in particular, burnt their colours, and buried their arms, that such trophies might not remain to grace the triumph of an enemy. Twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons, with all their officers, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and thus closed the mighty struggle of this eventful day.

We cannot terminate our description without introducing some incidents which occurred to the notice of the journalist, to whom we are so deeply indebted.

The field being cleared of the enemy, and night approaching, the duke ordered the army to be drawn up, with the left extending to Sonderen, the right towards Morselingen, and the soldiers to lie all night under arms, on the field of battle. They quickly possessed themselves of the enemy's tents, with great quantities of vegetables. Nearer the Danube lay about a hundred oxen, which were to have been distributed to the hostile troops. These were no unwelcome booty to the victorious soldiers, after their long and hard service.

After this, his grace gave orders for dressing the wounded, and putting them under cover. Then he made a repartition of the prisoners, who amounted to eleven or 12,000 men. The enemy had at least as many more killed and wounded. These prisoners, with their generals, being divided and disarmed, were ordered to the adjacent villages, in the rear of our army, guarded by several squadrons of horse and dragoons.

During the whole of this tremendous conflict, the duke of Marlborough exerted himself with his characteristic coolness, vigilance, and energy, superintending the manœuvres in every part, and appearing in every point where the presence of the general was necessary, to revive the courage, to restore the order, or to direct the attacks of his troops. The author of the Campaign* has caught the spirit of his hero, and described the effect of his superintending direction, in language equal to the subject :†

T'was then great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That in the shock of charging hosts unmov'd,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examin'd all the dreadful scenes of war:
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid;
Inspir'd repuls'd battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel by divine command
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land;
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleas'd the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

* Addison.

† For the account of the battle we have consulted the private letters of the duke, in the Blenheim Collection, and State Paper Office—Hare's Journal of the Campaign, MS.—and the official documents and correspondence in the Gazette—The History of Europe—and Lamberty—also the different Lives of Marlborough in english, french, german, and dutch—as well as the Lives of Eugene and Marlborough, and the Histoire du Prince Eugene—Dumont's Military History—Campagnes de Tallard et de Marsin—Quincy—Milner's Journal of Marlborough's Campaigns—Bowyer's History of Queen Anne—Cunningham—Tindal—and Daniel's Histoire de France—Historical Account of some british regiments published by Grose, and improved in the British Military Library—Grimoard and Feuquiers—with the Dictionnaire des Batailles, &c.

References to the Plan of the Battle of Blenheim.

- A. Position of the Allied Army on the 12th of August.
- B. March in 9 Columns towards the Enemy.
- C. Corps of the Duke of Marlborough deployed in 4 lines.
- D. Corps of Lord Cutts.
- E. Corps of Eugene before his reserve had entered the line.
- F. Allied Batteries.
- G. First movement of Marlborough towards the Nebel.
- H. March of the Brigades under Lord Cutts, and Passage of the rivulet at the water-mills.
- I. Spot where the first attacks were made, and where the different charges took place between the French Gens d'Armes and the 5 Squadrons of British.
- K. French and Bavarian Camp.
- L. Order of Battle of the French at the beginning of the Engagement.
- M. Part of the Center of Infantry under General Churchill, who first passed the Nebel, and took post behind a Hedge.
- N. The Cavalry, while advancing to occupy the ground, charged by the first line of the enemy, and partly repulsed behind the Infantry.
- O. Troops in columns endeavouring to pass at the same moment.
- P. Bothmar's Brigade of Dragoons, which charged the right flank of the Enemy's Horse, and in conjunction with the fire of the Infantry, first checked, and then drove back the hostile Cavalry behind the Meulweyer.
- Q. March in close order of the Allies and halt, with the left between the Nebel and Meulweyer, the Brigade of Ross thrown back, while the Infantry entered into the first line; the Center and Right of the French rallied, General Churchill's Infantry forming, and the 3 Battalions of Hanoverians engaged with the Brigade of Robec.
- R. Attack of the French Infantry upon the Division of Prince Holsteinbeck.
- S. Movement of the Brigade of Bernsdorff, and Charges of Marsin's right against the Danes and Hanoverians.
- T. Direction of the Allied Line after the great charges, which broke the Center of the French
- U. The Cavalry of Marshal Tallard and part of Marsin's endeavouring to rally, in line behind the Tents.
- V. The remainder of Marsin's right falling back behind Oberglauh.
- W. Last charge of the Allied left Corps, driving the Enemy partly into the Danube, and partly towards Deissenhofen.
- X. French Gens d'Armes, &c. rescued by the movements of the Brigade of Grignan, which obliged the Dragoons of Bothmar to retire.
- a. a. First Attack of Prince Eugene.
- b. b. The Bavarian Horse repulsing the Charge, and a part taking the Infantry in Flank.
- c. c. Second Attack of Eugene's Cavalry.
- d. d. The Imperial Cavalry driven back to the Nebel the third time.
- e. e. March and attacks of the Prussian and Danish Infantry.
- f. f. Retreat of the Elector and Marsin, after setting fire to Lutzingen and Oberglauh.
- g. g. Charge of the Imperial Cavalry upon the last Battalions of Bavarians.
- h. h. March of General Churchill to invest Blenheim.
- i. i. Dispositions to surround the village.
- k. k. Attacks of Lords Orkney and General Ingolsby repulsed.
- l. l. Last Position of the Elector and Marsin.
- Y. Last Charge of General Hompesch.
- Z. Position of the Allies the evening of the Battle.

A List of the principal Generals and Officers of the Confederate Army, who were engaged in the Battle of Blenheim.—(From the Order of Battle.)

ARMY OF MARLBOROUGH.

His Grace the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

Captain General of the QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN'S Forces, &c. &c.

Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; PRINCE MAXIMILIAN of HANOVER.

Infantry; ANHALT, DESSAU, and CHURCHILL.

Cavalry of the left; PRINCE of HESSE.

Lieutenant Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; PRINCE of DURLACH.

Infantry; HOORN, INGOLSBY, LORD CUTTS.

Cavalry of the left; DUKE of WIRTEMBERG, HOMPESCH, and LUMLEY.

Major Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; FUGGER, and NATZMER.

Infantry; FINK, HOLSTEINBECK, WITHERS, HERBEVILLE, and WILKS.

Cavalry of the left; RANTZAU, NOYELLES, ERBACH, SCHULEMBURG, AUROCHS, and WOOD.

Brigadier Generals :

Infantry; BIELK, HEIDENBRECHT, WULFEN, HULSEN, ROWE, and FERGUSON.

Cavalry of the left wing; RANTZAU, BALDWIN, and ROSS.

ARMY OF PRINCE EUGENE.

PRINCE EUGENE, *Field Marshal* of the EMPEROR.

Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; his Highness the reigning DUKE of WIRTEMBERG.

Cavalry of the left; COUNT de la TOUR.

Lieutenant Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; MARQUIS de CUZANI, and PRINCE of BAREUTH.

Infantry; SCHOLTEN, and LORD ORKNEY.

Cavalry of the left; COUNT OOST, FRIEZE, and BULOW.

Major Generals :

Cavalry of the right wing; CARAFFA, and BIBRA.

Infantry; RANTZAU, ST. PAUL, and LUC.

Cavalry of the left; VITTINGHOFF, PRINCE HESSE of HOMBURG, and VILLIERS.

Brigadier Generals :

Infantry; REBSDORFF, CANITZ, BERNSDORFF, STECKENDORFF, HULSEN, and WEBB.

Cavalry of the left; BROCKDORFF, GREVENDORFF, and BOTHMAR.









CHAPTER 27.

1704.

The two commanders enter Hochstadt, visit marshal Tallard, and divide the prisoners—Happy effects of the union between Eugene and Marlborough—Losses of the two armies—Lawingen and Dillingen secured—Advance to Steinheim—Correspondence of Marlborough—Negotiation with the electress of Bavaria—March to the Rhine—Passage of the Rhine, Queich, and Lauter—Correspondence—Motives for the siege of Landau—Receives a new offer of a principality from the emperor—Letter from the king of the Romans.

AT the conclusion of the battle, the duke of Marlborough took up his head-quarters in a little water-mill near Hochstadt, and snatched a short interval of repose. The garrison of Hochstadt having surrendered, he entered that town at the dawn, in company with his illustrious colleague, and after visiting the stores and magazines, issued the necessary orders for the day.

“Afterwards the two commanders, accompanied by counts Wratislaw and Maffei, and several general officers, visited marshal Tallard, at the quarters of the prince of Hesse. In their way, they ordered all the standards, colours, cannon, &c. taken from the enemy, to be committed to the care of colonel Blood. Reaching the marshal’s quarters, they found him very much dejected, and wounded in one of his hands. His grace humanely inquired how far it was in his power to make him easy, under his misfortune, offering him the convenience of his quarters, and the use of his coach. The marshal thankfully declined the offer, saying, he did not desire to move, till he could have his own equipage. His grace accordingly dispatched one of his own trumpets to the electoral army, with a passport for bringing it to the marshal. During the interview the marshal directed the conversation to the events of the preceding day, which Marlborough would fain have

avoided from motives of delicacy. He told the duke, that if his grace had deferred his visit, meaning his attack, a day longer, the elector and he would have waited on him first.

“The duke asking why they did it not on the 12th, when they were expected, the marshal answered, they would have done it before, had they not been informed that prince Louis of Baden had joined his grace, with his army from Ingoldstadt; and that four prisoners, whom their squadrons had taken that day, from our army, had given the information, and had agreed in their intelligence, though questioned separately.*

“At this interview many of the french generals crowded about his grace, admiring his person, as well as his tender and generous behaviour. Each had something to say for himself, which his grace and prince Eugene heard with the greatest modesty and compassion. Prince Eugene much commended the conduct of the elector of Bavaria, as well as the behaviour of his troops, and frankly told how often and how bravely he had been repulsed by them. When he spoke of his own troops, he said, “I have not a squadron or battalion, which did not charge four times, at least.”†

After staying with the marshal above an hour, the duke and all his company returned to the army, which he ordered to march beyond Hochstadt, as far as Steinheim; while he rode over the field of battle, from the right to the left, the dead of both armies lying stripped on the ground, and sympathised for the loss of so many brave companions in arms.

About noon he came to the camp, the left of which stretched towards Lawingen, through which the remainder of the elector's army had retreated to Borselingen, near Ulm, burning the bridge to check the pursuit. As soon as his grace reached his quarters at Steinheim, he commanded two detachments to take possession of Lawingen and Dillingen, and ordered the bridges to be re-

* It has been supposed that these four prisoners had instructions to suffer themselves to be taken, in order to make this report.

† Hare's Journal.

paired. Here his grace remained to take an account, and dispose of the prisoners, who amounted to 15,000 men, and 1,200 officers, exclusive of generals.

We may add, that from the subsequent letters of Marlborough, we find the total loss of the enemy, to have been no less than 40,000 men, including deserters and those who were killed in the retreat. The loss on the side of the confederates was also very considerable, being 4,500 killed, and 7,500 wounded; but few officers of note, except the prince of Holstein-Beck, and brigadier Rowe who were killed; and lord North and Grey, and lord Mordaunt wounded. The void which these casualties left in the ranks of the confederates, was not ill supplied by the number of deserters and prisoners who enlisted under the banners of victory. Among these were the two german regiments of Gueder and Zurlauben, amounting to 3,000 men.

The harmony and union of the two illustrious chiefs in this memorable engagement, were no less remarkable than advantageous to the common cause. Marlborough in his private letters, dwells with peculiar pleasure on the frankness and liberality of Eugene, and praises his candour and conciliating manners with no less warmth than his military talents. In his official letter to secretary Harley, he also bore public testimony to his merits, by declaring, that he could not sufficiently praise his conduct; and in a private letter to lord Godolphin he expresses the same sentiment in still stronger terms,

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Aug. 14.—If prince Eugene could have succeeded equal to his great merit, we should in that day have gone a great way in making an end of the war; but the elector was so posted, that it was seven o'clock at night before he could break into his line, which gave the elector time to draw off the greater part of his army.”

Eugene rendered equal justice to the temper and talents of his colleague, and by ascribing to him the principal share of the victory, contributed to exalt and diffuse his fame.

In vain, perhaps, may we seek in the pages of military history for a similar example of two generals, united in opinion as in views, emulous without rivalry, equal in command and in honours, yet not contending for pre-eminence. Contemporary writers justly describe them as two bodies animated by one soul; and a dutch medalist commemorated their union with peculiar felicity of thought, by exhibiting on one side of a medal, the busts of the two heroes in profile, and on the other the field of Blenheim, with the figure of Fame floating in the air, and sounding their praises. Above is the motto,

“ Heroum concordia victrix.”

In the bottom of the exergue, on each side, is a Latin distich, more consonant to truth than poetry, comparing them to Castor and Pollux, the two demi-gods of antiquity, who were no less distinguished for their fraternal affection than for their love of glory. This singular concord was equally conspicuous amidst all the trying events of the war, and may be reckoned as one of the principal causes which produced such astonishing success.

The candour and liberality of Marlborough, in this instance are more laudable, because he was highly dissatisfied with the misconduct of the imperial cavalry, whose want of spirit not only rendered the victory less decisive, but might have occasioned the ruin of the whole army, had not his own attack been eminently successful. But he carefully discriminated between the merits of the general and the faults of the troops; and though he prudently refrained from giving publicly the least hint which might have been construed into a reflection on Eugene, or have offended the imperial court, he did not suppress his complaints in his private correspondence. He even avoided giving a written reply to the compliments which he received from the emperor, and the king of the Romans, because he would not bestow on the troops the praise which they had ill deserved.

We shall not introduce any of the official letters from the duke, which have been already published, but shall confine our extracts to his private correspondence in the hour of triumph, and during his march from the field of battle to the

camp of Sefelingen, in the vicinity of Ulm, where he remained stationary till the latter end of August.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ August 14.—Before the battle was quite done yesterday, I writ to my dearest soul to let her know that I was well, and that God had blessed her majesty’s arms with as great a victory as has ever been known; for prisoners I have the marshal de Tallard, and the greatest part of his general officers, above 8,000 men, and near 1,500 officers. In short the army of M. de Tallard, which was that which I fought with, is quite ruined; that of the elector of Bavaria and the marshal de Marsin, which prince Eugene fought against, I am afraid has not had much loss, for I can’t find that he has many prisoners. As soon as the elector knew that monsieur de Tallard was like to be beaten, he marched off, so that I came only time enough to see him retire. As all these prisoners are taken by the troops I command, it is in my power to send as many of them to England as her majesty shall think for her honour and service. My own opinion in this matter is, that the marshal de Tallard, and the general officers, should be sent or brought to her majesty when I come to England; but should all the officers be brought, it would be a very great expence, and I think the honour is in having the marshal and such other officers as her majesty pleases. But I shall do in this, as in all things, that which shall be most agreeable to her. I am so very much out of order with having been 17 hours on horseback yesterday, and not having been able to sleep above three hours last night, that I can write to none of my friends. However I am so pleased with this action, that I can’t end my letter without being so vain as to tell my dearest soul, that within the memory of man there has been no victory so great as this; and as I am sure you love me entirely well, you will be infinitely pleased with what has been done, upon my account as well as the great benefit the public will have. For had the success of prince Eugene been equal to his merit, we should in that day’s action have made an end of the war.

“ Steinheim, August 18.

“ I have been so very much out of order for these four or five days, that I have been obliged this morning to be let blood, which I hope will set me right; for I should be very much troubled not to be able to follow the blow we have given, which appears greater every day than another, for we have now above 11,000 prisoners. I have also this day a deputation from the town of Augsburg to let me know that the french were marched out of it yesterday morning, by which they have abandoned the country of Bavaria, so that the orders are already given for the putting a garrison into it. If we can be so lucky as to force them from Ulm, where they are now all together, we shall certainly then drive them to the other side of the Rhine. After which we flatter ourselves that the world will think we have done all that could have been expected from us. This day the whole army has returned their thanks to almighty God for the late success, and I have done it with all my heart; for never victory was so complete, notwithstanding that they were stronger than we, and very advantageously posted. But believe me, my dear soul, there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to make this venture, which God has so blessed. I am told the elector has sent for his wife and children to come to Ulm. If it be true, he will not then quit the french interest, which I had much rather he should do, if it might be upon reasonable terms; but the imperialists are for his entire ruin. My dearest life, if we could have another such a day as Wednesday last, I should then hope we might have such a peace as that I might enjoy the remaining part of my life with you. The elector has this minute sent a gentleman to me, I think only to amuse us; we shall see the truth in a day or two, for we march to-morrow. The blood they have taken from me has done me a great deal of good, which is very necessary, for I have not time to be sick.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Sefelingen, August 28.

“ The troops under my command are advanced three days on

their march towards the Rhine, but I have been obliged to stay here to finish, if possible, the treaty with the electress, who has assured me by letter that one of her ministers shall be here this day with full powers. If he comes before I am obliged to seal this letter, you shall have an account of it. By the letters we have intercepted of the enemy's going to Paris, from their camp at Dutlingen, they all own to have lost above 40,000 men. If we have not Ulm by treaty, we shall leave monsieur Thungen with the troops that should have had the siege of Ingoldstadt. We are endeavouring all we can to get sixty pieces of cannon for the siege of Landau, which place would be of great advantage to our winter quarters. Although we have had a very great loss of officers and soldiers, our army is in so good heart, and so entirely united, that if the enemy gives us an occasion, I do not doubt but God will bless us with a farther success."

The good effects of this victory were speedily experienced. The first and most important was the dissipation of that alarm which the french arms had long inspired. From the complete development of the vast military system, which principally owed its splendour and consistency to Louis the fourteenth, his troops had suffered no considerable defeat; and not only regarded themselves, but had taught other countries to regard them, as invincible. But this victory over the flower of those armies, who had hitherto marched from conquest to conquest, broke the charm, and transferred the wreath of fame from the french standard to that of the allies. The court of Versailles indeed attempted to palliate the defeat, by ascribing it to the incapacity of the generals, and by publishing false and partial accounts of the battle; but although they found even in England factious partisans to repeat and exaggerate their misrepresentations, the impression was deep and permanent. In France despondency succeeded presumption; while the other nations of Europe reflected on their former alarms with shame and indignation. The recollection of the field of Blenheim depressed the courage of the french soldiery, as much as it warmed the bosoms, and roused the zeal of the troops, who were inspired by the guidance of the successful commanders.

The name of Marlborough became in France a watchword of fear; and, like the appellations of those beings, whom fancy has invested with imaginary terrors, was even employed by parents to operate on the apprehensions of their children.

The shock produced by so tremendous a conflict was evident in all the operations of the war. Encumbered with crowds of prisoners and wounded, and at a distance from their supplies, the confederate generals could not pursue the broken army under the immediate impulse of defeat, but they omitted no exertion to render their victory effectual. By the intervention of count Wratislaw, the margrave of Baden was induced to desist from the siege of Ingoldstadt, in which he had made a considerable progress; and leaving a sufficient force for the blockade, he marched with the rest of his army to concur in more important and active operations.

The day after the battle, Marlborough and Eugene made a short march, and encamped between Wittisling and Steinheim. Here they remained four days, to rest, and refresh the troops, and make a division of their prisoners. The british commander generously yielded to his illustrious colleague an equal share in all the honours of victory, and reserved no other distinction for his sovereign than the disposal of marshal Tallard, and a few of the superior officers. Accordingly on the 18th Tallard and most of the other generals were sent from Hochstadt towards Hanau and Frankfort, under an escort of english horse. Of those who were taken on the field of battle 5,678 were assigned to Marlborough, and 5,514 to Eugene, making a total of 11,000 men, besides the two german regiments who enlisted in the confederate army.

On the 19th the confederates again moving, advanced in the direction of Ulm, where the elector had halted to collect his scattered forces, and withdraw his garrisons. Proceeding by Gundelfingen and Languenau, they reached Sefelingen on the 21st, finding in every village fresh indications of the loss which the enemy had sustained, by the hostilities of the peasantry, and the harassing pursuit of the light troops, as we learn from the duke's own correspondence.

" August, 1704. The french own that of their whole army they have not 250 officers but what are killed, wounded, or taken prisoners ; we reckon they could not have less than 4,500 officers."

" Camp of Sefelingen, August 21.

" On Tuesday we marched from Steinheim to Gundelfingen, yesterday we came to Ober-Elkingen, and to-day advanced to this place, within an english mile of Ulm. We heard of many french officers that had been buried in the several villages we marched through ; and by letters from one of the burghers at Ulm, we are told that when the enemy marched from thence, they carried with them upwards of 7,000 wounded, whereof near 1,000 were officers ; that they burnt many of their waggons to make use of their horses for brancards, for more easily conveying the wounded officers."

" August 28.—We have intercepted several letters of the 19th, going from Dutlingen to the french court, by which the enemy own to have lost 40,000 men killed, taken prisoners, and deserted, since the battle."

At Sefelingen the attention of Marlborough was directed to the forlorn situation of the electress of Bavaria. He was too susceptible of domestic affections not to sympathise in the distress of this unfortunate princess, who after proceeding beyond Memmingen to console her husband by her presence, had found the roads beset by the allied troops, and returned in despair to Munich. He readily listened to an overture made by her confessor, and prevailed on Eugene and Wratislaw to offer her and her family a safe residence at Munich, with a certain guard and regular allowance from the revenues of her husband, on the condition of surrendering Ulm and the other fortresses held by the gallo-bavarian garrisons.

In his correspondence we discover many gratifying proofs of the interest which he took in her fate, as well as in that of her husband.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Sefelingen, August 21.

“ The poor electress has taken five of her children with her, and is following her husband, who seems to be abandoned to the french interest. Prince Eugene and I have offered him by a gentleman that is not yet returned, that if he will join in the common cause against France, he shall be put in possession of his whole country, and receive from the queen and Holland 400,000 crowns yearly, for which he should only furnish the allies with 8,000 men ; but I take it for granted he is determined to go for France and abandon his own country to the rage of the germans.”

“ August 25.—The elector of Bavaria has sent his wife and children back to Munich, and this morning by a trumpet has writ to me, and in it a letter to the electress open. It has made my heart ache, being very sensible how cruel it is to be separated from what one loves. I have sent it to her by a trumpet of my own, with assurances, that her answer shall be carefully delivered to the elector, for I take pleasure in being easy when the service does not suffer by it.”

“ August 28.—Although the troops be marched I shall stay here a day or two longer, to finish a treaty with the electress of Bavaria, which I own would be a great satisfaction to me ; for when the public are served, I should be glad the family were not quite ruined.”

During the halt of five days at Sefelingen, the margrave of Baden repaired to the camp, to confer with Marlborough and Eugene on the plan of future operations. As the elector and Marsin had already effected their retreat through the passes leading from Donaschingen to Friburg, a resolution was taken to leave the troops drawn from Ingoldstadt, under the command of general Thungen for the reduction of Ulm ; while the remainder of the forces hastened to carry the war into the country beyond the Rhine.

CHAPTER 28.

1704.

Confederate armies march towards the Rhine—Pass the Rhine, the Queich, and the Lauter—Correspondence—Motives for the siege of Landau—Marlbrough receives a new offer of the principality from the emperor.

ON the 28th the army broke up and marched in different columns through the circle of Suabia, towards the general rendezvous in the vicinity of Philipsburg. The troops of Marlborough divided into three columns, and marched by Launsheim, Gross Seinssen, Ebersbach, Great Hippach, and Mondelsheim, and in six days approached the Rhine.

After waiting three days for an answer from the electress of Bavaria, Marlborough left count Wratislaw to continue the negotiation, and on the evening of August 31, rejoined his troops at Mondelsheim. During a halt of one day he repaired to Stutgard, at the invitation of the duke of Wirtemberg, and was received with all the honours which a grateful people could pay to their deliverer. The next morning he passed the Neckar at Lauffen, and on the 3rd advanced to Eppingen.

As the views of the confederate generals were directed to Landau, they so calculated their march as to anticipate the enemy in the position of Spirebach. Eugene hastened to Rastadt to collect the forces left in the lines of Stollhoffen, and in the beginning of September the different columns were all concentrated in the vicinity of Philipsburg.

Having pushed forward the english and danes to Steffeld and Odenheim, Marlborough on the 5th repaired to Philipsburg, and from thence went to the head quarters of Eugene at Waghaus. In

the afternoon they passed the Rhine to survey the country beyond ; and the ensuing morning the palatine troops, who were nearest at hand, were sent across by Eugene, to occupy the position of Spirebach. In the interval Marlborough returned to his camp, and being apprised that the advance of the enemy's cavalry had appeared on the high ground near Philipsburg, he detached the english and danish horse to support the palatines. On the 7th the english and danish foot, with the dutch, luneburgers, and hessians, successively filed over, and the ensuing day the re-union of the whole army was completed, by the junction of the imperial horse. At the same time the margrave, who had taken the route of Aschaffenburg, arrived at the camp.

Writing to Godolphin from Spire, Sept. 8, Marlborough details these operations, and declares his resolution to give the enemy battle, if they should venture to oppose his advance. " Fearing the french might take this camp, we were obliged to pass the Rhine and take it yesterday, although we had not above half our troops with us, which made us be all the day on horseback, as also the greatest part of this day, the french being within three leagues of us. But this afternoon we are joined by the rest of our troops, so that we shall march to-morrow, in hopes to pass the river Queich the next day. If the enemy will let us pass that river, we have it in our power to besiege Landau. I hope and think they will not defend it, though they have drawn all their forces together, in order to hinder our passage. We shall have 92 battalions and 181 squadrons ; but above one half of our battalions are extremely weak, so that if we come to action, I intend to make the 14 english battalions but 7, and to do the same thing to the danes and hessians, which will bring our battalions to 78."

As Villeroy, with the remains of the gallo-bavarian army, had established himself on the Queich, and was actively employed in fortifying a position so advantageous for the defence of Landau, the allied generals concluded that he had taken the resolution of opposing their progress. They therefore broke up on the 9th, and advanced towards the pass of Belheim. The enemy were, however, too discouraged to await an attack, and hastily fell back

to Langencandel. The bridges which they had partly broken down were repaired for the passage of the infantry, and the horse traversing the stream by the fords, the confederates encamped the same evening between Offenbach and Belheim, on the very ground previously occupied by Villeroy.

Marlborough and Eugene resuming their march on the 10th, the enemy who had lain all night under arms, withdrew in confusion behind the Lauter, and finally continued their retreat to the Motter, where they deemed themselves secure from aggression, during the expected siege of Landau. After halting the 11th at Langencandel, the confederates advanced on the 12th to the camp of Cron-Weissemburg.

In the correspondence of Marlborough we find him expressing his surprise at the timidity of the french commander. To Godolphin he observes :

“ *Weissemburg, Sept. 12.*

“ When I writ last, I was of opinion that M. de Villeroy would have defended the river Queich; but he no sooner knew of our march, than he quitted in very great haste, and marched to the camp of Langencandel, which has been in all times famous for being a strong post, it being covered with thick woods and marshy grounds. However, upon our approach he retired, and passed that day the Lauter, so that now we are not only masters of making the siege of Landau, but also of taking what post we please for covering it. If they had not been the most frightened people in the world, they would never have quitted these two posts. Prince Louis is this morning marched to invest Landau, and prince Eugene and your humble servant are to cover the siege.”

The splendid events of the campaign, as well as the fatigues which the troops had undergone, induced many of the officers to flatter themselves that the operations of the year would have closed, as soon as the enemy were expelled from Germany. But Marlborough and Eugene were too enterprising to confine their views to mere present advantages. On the contrary, contemplating the prospect of opening the ensuing campaign on the french territory, they not only deemed it necessary to reduce Landau, but

also to secure the principal posts on the line of the Moselle. Such long and strenuous exertions, were, however, disapproved by many, and even Godolphin himself remonstrated against the continuance of the army in the field, at the time when the presence of the general was deemed necessary in England.

To his objections Marlborough thus replied :

“ Sept. 19.—I find by your’s of the 22nd, it is necessary that I should give you my reason why I was for attacking Landau ; and if it had not been in my opinion absolutely necessary, I should have complied with the greatest part of the army, who thought they had done enough in clearing the Rhine on that side, and so were desirous we should take up our quarters in Wirtemberg, and part of the Palatinate, and the imperialists in Bavaria and Suabia. This would have rendered it very easy for the troops, but would have been very prejudicial to the common cause ; for we should have made it impossible for Suabia to have furnished their quota, which is 10,000 men, which they have promised to do if they are not charged with winter quarters. By the taking of Landau we shall not only quarter the greatest part of the army on this side of the Rhine, but we shall do that now, which would have spent half our campaign the next year. Besides, if this siege ends in any reasonable time, I hope to take quarters at Treves, and all along the Moselle to Coblenz, which will oblige the french to leave the greatest part of their troops on the frontier, which will be chargeable, and a great hindrance to their recruiting. But hitherto every thing goes on very slowly at Landau, and forage is so very difficult to be got for this army, that I have a good deal of spleen. However, we are assured, by this time in October we shall be masters of the place.”

Although the siege of Landau had been approved by the imperial court ; yet either from negligence or poverty, or both, artillery, ammunition, and money were wanting, as well as proper officers to direct the attack. But the foresight and activity of Marlborough supplied all deficiencies. The artillery which he had obtained at the commencement of the campaign from the landgrave of Hesse, was brought up from Manheim ; the necessary requisites were

provided; and the margrave of Baden was enabled to open the trenches, within the space of a few days after the passage of the Rhine.

Prompt and effectual measures were adopted for the subsistence of the army, by throwing a garrison into Lauterburg, and bringing up one of the floating bridges from Philipsburg, to maintain a communication with the country bordering the opposite bank of the Rhine. Care was also taken for the security of the numerous prisoners, who had proved the cause of considerable embarrassment, by detaching general Ferguson with five english battalions to embark with them on the Rhine at Mentz, and escort them into Holland.

At this period the confederate generals were gratified by the news of the capture of Ulm, which surrendered on the 11th. Their disposable force was thus not only increased, but the stores and artillery found in the place proved a valuable supply for the siege of Landau.

During his march from the banks of the Danube to those of the Rhine, Marlborough received the first indications of the effect produced by his victory at the court of Vienna. Mr. Stepney having congratulated the emperor in the name of his grace, his imperial majesty very heartily testified the obligations of his family and the empire to the queen for her extensive care, to the duke for his readiness and conduct, and to the english troops for their bravery; nor did these expressions convey a mere diplomatic compliment. Since the former negotiation on the subject of the principality, Leopold had made a new application to the queen, through his agent, baron Hoffman, and had obtained her consent to the grant of this distinguished honour. Without farther delay he announced to Marlborough his elevation to the princely dignity, in a letter full of admiration and gratitude.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE OF US, AND THE HOLY
ROMAN EMPIRE, JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, &c.

“ I salute with pleasure your dilection by these titles, who so justly deserve a place among the princes of the empire, as well from your own merits as the honour of your noble family, and

for your signal services to me and my august house, and the holy roman empire, being desirous to give you this public monument of honour, the greatest there is in Germany, and which is so justly conferred on you. And to make still more public the great obligations I have to her britannic majesty, for sending so great a succour so far to assist me, and the empire, when our affairs were in so ill a posture, by the base revolt of Bavaria to France, and to your dilection, to whose prudence and courage, and the bravery of the english and other troops under your command, my own generals, as well as fame, ascribe chiefly under God, our late successes ; I shall use my endeavours to procure your dilection a place and vote in the diet, among the princes of the empire. These victories are so great, especially that near Hochstadt, over the french, which no ages can parallel, that we may not only congratulate you on having broken the pride of France, defeated their pernicious attempts, and settled again the affairs of Germany, or rather of all Europe, after so great a shock ; but have hopes of seeing the full and entire liberty of Europe in a short time happily restored from the power of France. To which end as I am sure nothing will be wanting on the part of your dilection, nothing remains but to wish you farther successes, and give you fresh assurances of my readiness to embrace any opportunity of shewing you with how much affection I am, LEOPOLD."

"Given in my city of Vienna, 28 August, 1704."*

In consequence, however, of some objections raised by Godolphin and Harley, and the unwillingness of Marlborough himself, to accept a mere empty title, the grant was suspended at his own request. His motives for declining the proffered honour, are thus stated in his correspondence.

TO THE DUCHESS.

"*Sefelingen, August 25, 1704.*

"I find by Mr. Secretary Harley's and lord treasurer's letters, that they think it might be best to keep the emperor from doing any thing in what he proposes, till towards the end of the cam-

* Official translation from the original latin preserved in the archives of Blenheim.

paign. I should have done my part in that, and farther, that it might have remained as it now is, without any thing more being done in it; but I find by the answer of the queen, sent by M. de Hoffman to the emperor, they think it is no more in my power to refuse. I send the copy of it to lord treasurer, as the count de Wratislaw has given it me. However, I shall do what I can to have it delayed, since you think that is best, for I think the only consideration now is, that the emperor may not take it ill."

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Weissemburg, September 22.

"Two days ago the count de Wratislaw gave me a letter from the emperor, in which he acquaints me with having made me a prince of the empire. I am very much surprised, and so I told him, that such a step should be taken before I had the least notice. Besides this was not the method in which it ought to be done, for the notice ought to be sent to the several princes of the empire; and the lands from whence I was to take my title to be named to them; for that I could not have a seat in the diet till I was master of an imperial fief in the empire. He said it was right, and that he would write to the emperor, and not own to any body that he has given me the letter. However, I send you a copy, but desire nobody may see it but Mr. Secretary, for I believe the emperor must write another to me."

As the splendid victory of Blenheim produced an unusual sentiment of joy and gratitude in the cold and phlegmatic bosom of Leopold, we cannot wonder that it excited a transport of enthusiasm in his ardent and generous son, the king of the Romans. When the english minister conveyed to him the compliments of the duke, Joseph testified the utmost eagerness to contract a personal acquaintance with so illustrious a commander, and above all to enjoy the advantage of his counsel and conduct during the remainder of the campaign.

Indeed, during his progress in Bavaria, Marlborough had received a confidential letter from one of the imperial ministers,

testifying the earnest desire of the king of the romans, to repair to the army and serve under his auspices. Some objections which were made to the proposal by the margrave of Baden, were overruled, and Joseph was accelerating the preparations for his departure, when the news of the victory reached Vienna. The intelligence rendered him doubly anxious to join the army; and in a letter which reached Marlborough at Sefelingen, the young monarch notified his intention. Not satisfied, however, with the formal language of the chancery, he added a postscript in the french tongue, in his own hand, which we present to the reader as indicative of his character, and as a proof of his gratitude to the general who had rescued his family from ruin.

“ I cannot refrain from expressing my joy at the desire you testify to see me at the head of the army, which I hope will soon be fulfilled; and I shall feel the more satisfaction, because I shall have the pleasure of knowing you personally, and of shewing you the estimation in which I hold your merit.”

In conformity with this resolution, Joseph arrived at the camp before Landau on the 21st of September, and assumed the command. The next day Marlborough paid his respects to the young monarch, in company with Eugene and other superior officers, and was received with the most flattering marks of cordiality and regard. After the interview, Joseph accompanied the british commander to inspect the approaches against the place, and on the 2nd of October, he returned his visit in great state. The army was drawn up in two lines, and general Cadogan had the honour to conduct his majesty to the left. Marlborough received him at the head of lord John Hay's regiment of dragoons, and accompanied him along the lines, under a triple discharge of artillery and small arms. Joseph expressed extreme satisfaction at the warlike appearance of the troops, and the regularity of their movements, honoured Marlborough with his company at dinner, and in the evening returned to his own quarters before Landau, where he retained the nominal command, till the reduction of the fortress.

CHAPTER 29.

1704.

Indisposition of Marlborough, occasioned by the fatigues of the battle—Recovery—Expedition to the Moselle—Capture of Treves—Siege of Traerbach—His correspondence on this enterprise—Return to the camp before Landau.

REFLECTING on the magnitude and variety of the events which had occurred since the commencement of the campaign, we should naturally conclude that such stupendous operations had been directed by a general in the possession of perfect health and spirits. It is therefore surprising to find such activity of body and energy of mind exerted under the pressure of indisposition. Though naturally robust, Marlborough was subject at an early period to fits of head-ache and fever, which were rendered more frequent by the fatigues of a military life, the labour of an extensive and incessant correspondence, and the anxiety of a mind harassed by the party feuds and intrigues both in England and abroad.

By a complaint of this kind he was affected soon after his passage of the Danube, and the disorder was greatly increased by the care and labour he underwent, before and during the battle of Blenheim, in which he was no less than seventeen hours on horseback. The sense of pain was for a moment banished by the exultation of victory; but during his march towards the Rhine, we find in his correspondence repeated indications of his bodily sufferings.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Camp at Steinheim, Aug. 17, 1704.

“Ever since the battle I have been so employed about our own wounded men and the prisoners, that I have not one hour’s quiet,

which has so disordered me, that if I were in London I should be in my bed in a high fever."

" *Sefelingen, Aug. 25.*

" I am suffered to have so little time to myself, that I have a continual fever on my spirits, which makes me very weak ; but when I go from hence, I am resolved to go in my coach till I come to the Rhine, which I do not doubt will restore me to perfect health. Nothing but my zeal for her majesty's service could have enabled me to have gone through the fatigues I have had for the last three months ; and I am but too sure when I shall have the happiness of seeing you, you will find me ten years older than when I left England. I do not say this to complain, for I esteem myself very happy if I can make any return for her majesty's goodness to me and mine."

Arriving thus debilitated in the low marshy country bordering the Rhine, he was attacked with an ague, which for several days suspended his attention to military duties. Writing to Godolphin, Sept. 19, he observes :

" I had the favour of your's of the 22nd and 25th of the last month, when I came last Monday from Landau ; but I was so uneasy with a cold fit of an ague, that I could neither read your's nor write to you by the post."

The usual remedies produced the desired effect ; but left him for some time in a state of languor and weakness which discovers itself in his correspondence.

TO THE DUCHESS.

" October 10.—I came this afternoon from Landau, where I have been ever since Tuesday. That siege goes on so very slowly that I can give no guess when it is likely to end. I am glad you have poor lady Sunderland with you, for I am very sure you will persuade her to take every thing that may do her good. For thousands of reasons I wish myself with you. Besides I think if I were with you quietly at the lodge, I should have more health, for I am at this time so very lean, that it is extreme uneasy to me, so that your care must nurse me this winter, or I shall certainly be

in a consumption. I am very sorry to hear you have so often returns of your illness, and I do with all my heart thank you for the resolution you have taken of letting the physicians try to cure you, which I hope in God they will, and that you may live many years after me, which both by my age and constitution you must do."

The duchess was alarmed at these unfavourable accounts of his health, and urged him to withdraw from his irksome situation. But the hope of recovery, and the consciousness of the important consequences which depended on his exertions, inspired him with new energy. In his reply he observes :

"What you say of St. Albans is what from my soul I wish, that there or some where else we might end our days in quietness together ; and if I considered only myself, I agree with you, I can never quit the world in a better time ; but I have too many obligations to the queen to take any resolution, but such as her service must be first considered. I hope, however, in a little time all this business may be so well settled, as I may be very easily spared, and then I shall retire with great satisfaction, and with you and my children end my days most happily ; for I would not quit the world, but be eased of business, in order to enjoy your dear company."

Indeed no bodily indisposition nor mental chagrin could damp his zeal, or divert his attention from the public cause ; and he had scarcely recovered his wonted health before he prepared for fresh exertions. Wearied with the siege of Landau, which had lasted nearly a month, and entertaining no hope of its speedy reduction, he was unwilling to remain inactive. While the enemy yet laboured under the effects of their defeat, he was impatient to forward the design of opening the next campaign on the Moselle, which was the most vulnerable part of the french frontier. In this operation he expected to reap considerable advantage from the assistance of the duke of Lorraine, whom he represents in one of his letters as "heart and soul with the allies." He hoped also that the german princes would

zealously co-operate in an attack, which was intended for their speedy deliverance from the danger of french oppression.

With anxiety and impatience he marked the preparations of the enemy to collect a body of troops on the Moselle, by drawing detachments both from the Netherlands and the Upper Rhine.

Perceiving therefore that the siege of Landau was not likely to be brought to a speedy conclusion, he resolved to leave the command of the covering army to Eugene, and secure the posts of Treves and Traerbach which were necessary for his future operations by a rapid and daring enterprise. This scheme, however, required the same resources and activity as he had displayed in his march through Germany. The country which he had to traverse was a mere desert, wild and mountainous; and the roads even in the most favourable season scarcely practicable for baggage and artillery. The troops, as well as the requisites for the enterprise, were to be collected from distant quarters; as a sufficient force could not be spared from the covering army; and the utmost celerity, combination, and secresy, were necessary to prevent a vigilant enemy from availing themselves of the natural obstacles which their situation presented.

The great commander accomplished his purpose with his usual skill and felicity. He justly calculated that the french would be rendered more remiss by the persuasion that he would not venture to move before the reduction of Landau, and that the force which he could draw from the besieging army was inadequate to the execution of the design. He accordingly ordered fourteen battalions, which the dutch had engaged to furnish from the army in the Netherlands, to direct their march on the 14th towards Traerbach. At the same time he obtained from the elector of Treves, the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, the necessary supplies of artillery and ammunition for a siege, which were to be transported to such points as were privately indicated. On the 13th he sent a small body of horse and foot to fortify Homburg, a place which commanded the passes through the woody country, north of Weissemburg. This detachment was

followed in a few days by two others, making a total of 12,000 men, and on the 24th Marlborough himself reached Homburg. Accelerating his march through the woody country towards the Moselle, he arrived on the 26th, at the camp of St. Wendel, within a short distance of Treves, where he received information that a garrison of 300 men in the fort of St. Martin overawed and threatened to burn the town, which he was anxious to save. The difficulties of this bold and perilous enterprise are best described in his own words from a confidential letter to lord Godolphin:

"Camp at St. Wendal, October 26."*

"Since my last, I have gone through the terriblest country that can be imagined for the march of an army with cannon. Had it rained we must have left our baggage and cannon behind us.

"The intelligence I have from the Saar is, that monsieur Laumarie expects to be joined by a detachment of 10,000 men from the army at Haguenau. If it proves true, I shall be obliged to take a strong camp, by which I may be able to give the necessary orders for attacking Traerbach, and to be reinforced for attempting Treves; for the 27 battalions and 48 squadrons which are with me make about 12,000 men, and I should be very unwilling to be beaten at the end of this campaign. However I am advanced to this place with the horse, in hopes to get to Treves before this detachment can join monsieur Laumarie, the foot being only one day behind me. Another reason which makes me press my march is, that if they will not venture to put themselves between me and the town, they may have thoughts of burning it, which I would, if possible, prevent; for my intentions are, to leave 16 battalions and 10 squadrons in garrison there all this winter, it being much the best place on the Moselle for our magazines. Another thing which gives me great trouble is, that I can get no meal to make bread but what I brought with me; but if I can make myself master of Treves, I shall then want for nothing."

"If the siege of Landau had been ended, I should then have

*Correspondence in the State Paper Office.

marched with all the troops under my command, so that I might have been almost sure of success in this expedition. But as I have been obliged to leave one half of the hessians, all the hanoverians and the english with prince Eugene, I am now exposed to the enemy if they will venture, which I hope they will not. I should not have ventured to march with these troops, but I think the taking our winter quarters on the Moselle is as necessary for the good of the common cause as any thing that has been done this campaign; and I am persuaded that if I had staid till the siege was ended, the season would have been so far advanced, that it would have been impossible to attempt it. These difficulties make me sensible that if I did not consider the good of the whole, before my private concern, I ought not to be here. This might be better said by another than myself, but it is truth; and I am very sensible that if I should have ill success, the greatest part of mankind will censure me for it. However I shall have the satisfaction to know that I have acted for the best."

Similar reflections occur in a letter of the same date to the duchess:

"I am got thus far in my way to the Moselle, after having marched through very terrible mountains. Had we any rain it would have been impossible to have got forward the cannon; and it is certain if the enemy are able to hinder us from taking winter quarters in this country, we must throw our cannon into some river, for to carry them back is impossible. I have been so desirous to make use of this fair weather that I am here only with the horse, but as my march to-morrow will bring me within eight leagues of Treves, and the enemy's troops being but five leagues from me, I must be obliged to stay for the foot, which will join me the next day.

"This march and my own spleen have given me occasion to think how very unaccountable a creature man is, to be seeking for honour in so barren a country as this, when he is very sure that the greater part of mankind, and may justly fear, that even his best friends, would be apt to think ill of him should he have ill success. But I am endeavouring all I can to persuade myself

that my happiness ought to depend upon my knowledge, that I do what I think is for the best. If I can succeed in the taking of Treves I shall not then stay above ten days longer in this country; for when I shall have given the necessary orders for the siege of Traerbach, I shall leave the execution of it to the prince of Hesse, having promised the king of the Romans to be with him before the siege of Landau is ended."

Marlborough obtained the success which he so much merited by his vigilance, skill, and activity. We continue to relate in his own words the result of these masterly operations, in two letters to secretary Harley:

"Camp at St. Wendel, October 26.

"Since my last I quitted the camp of Weissemburg on Thursday at break of day. I am advancing with 27 battalions, 49 squadrons, 14 cannon, and 4 howitzers, towards the Moselle, to settle the winter quarters, and order the attack against Traerbach. I am favoured by good weather, and not without apprehensions that the enemy may pre-occupy Treves, but I will endeavour to arrive there before the french detachment."

"Camp at Treves, October 29.

"I thank God we have prevented them. Last night three deputies from Treves came to the camp at Hermenskel, six leagues off, to acquaint me that the french garrison of 300 men were still in the fort, who might insult the town on our approach, if not prevented. Whereupon I marched before break of day this morning, with all the horse and four battalions; and as soon as our vanguard appeared, the enemy quitted the fort and retired over the Moselle, after throwing much provisions and ammunition into the river. An advanced corps took some prisoners, and prevented any mischief, which they intended to execute, had they not been surprised by the celerity of this march."

From a letter of Cardonnel we learn also that the enemy were not inattentive to this movement, and would undoubtedly have baffled a less active and vigilant commander.*

* These three last letters are extracted from the originals in the State Paper Office.

“October 31. It was very lucky that my lord duke hastened his march, for on the same day monsieur D’Allegre came with a detachment of horse within two leagues of Treves, having ordered a good body of troops to follow him, but on notice of our being here, immediately retired.”

Possessed of so important a place as Treves, the duke collected 6,000 of the neighbouring peasantry to repair and strengthen the fortifications, and posted the cavalry at Consaarbruck to cover the operation. Having settled the distribution of winter quarters in the vicinity, he proceeded towards Traerbach, which was occupied by a french garrison of 600 men. Arriving at Berncastel the 3rd of November, he was joined by the 12 dutch battalions drawn from the Meuse. After surveying the environs of Traerbach, and giving the necessary directions to the prince of Hesse for the siege of the place, he returned with equal expedition to the camp at Cron Weissemburg. Thus, in the short space of 21 days, he accomplished an arduous and highly important undertaking, the result of which may be best described in his own simple though expressive language: “I reckon,” he writes to Godolphin, “this campaign is well over, since the winter quarters are settled on the Moselle, which I think will give France as much uneasiness as any thing that has been done this summer.”

In fact the original view of Marlborough was to have besieged Saar Louis, which would have materially facilitated his intended invasion of France; but as the protracted defence of Landau frustrated this design, he adopted the most efficient measures to secure the advantages he had gained. He placed a garrison in Treves, under the command of the count de Noyalles, occupied Saarbruck, and after the surrender of Traerbach, quartered a strong corps of auxiliary troops, near the confluence of the Saar and the Moselle.

CHAPTER 30.

1704.

Effects of the battle of Blenheim in England and abroad—Letters of the queen and Mrs. Burnett—Violence of the disaffected—Attempts of the Tories to decry the successes of Marlborough—Letters to his duchess on the state of parties.

HAVING traced the grand events of this extraordinary campaign and their effects abroad, we turn our attention to the impression which they produced in England. It would be difficult to describe the burst of exultation which arose on the first news of the glorious victory in the field of Blenheim. The queen repaired to St. Paul's in state, to offer up a solemn thanksgiving for the success of her arms; and every class of her subjects seemed to vie with each other in the expression of their homage to the Lord God of hosts, and gratitude to the commander who had been the instrument of the divine blessing. Addresses and letters of congratulation flowed in from all quarters, of which we shall select only two, one from the queen, as indicative of her own feelings, and another from Mrs. Burnett, wife of the bishop of Salisbury, as equally indicative of the public sentiment.

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS,
In answer to the note announcing the victory.

“Windsor, August 10-21.

“Since I sent my letter away by the messenger, I have had the happiness of receiving my dear Mrs. Freeman's, by colonel Park, with the good news of this glorious victory, which, next to God Almighty, is wholly owing to dear Mr. Freeman, on whose safety I congratulate you with all my soul. May the same Providence that has

hitherto preserved, still watch over, and send him well home to you. We can never thank God Almighty enough for these great blessings; but must make it our endeavour to deserve them, and I hope he will continue his goodness to us, in delivering us from the attempts of all our other enemies. I have nothing to add at present, but my being sincerely, &c.

MRS. BURNETT TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Aug. 12, O. S.—Though your grace’s moments are so valuable that I should fear to trouble you with my most humble thanks, till you had more leisure to receive such worthless tributes, yet I cannot defer letting your grace know the joy I see in every one I meet. The common people, who I feared were grown stupid, have and do now shew greater signs of satisfaction and triumph, than I think I ever saw before on any good success whatever; and after the first tribute of praise to God, the first cause of all that is good, every one studies who shall most exalt the duke of Marlborough’s fame, by admiring the great secresy, excellent conduct in the design, and wonderful resolution and courage in the execution. The emperor can give no title* half so glorious as such an action. How much blood and treasure has been spent to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to give a balance to Europe; and when after so long a struggle the event remained under great uncertainty, to have the glory to break the chain, give the greatest blow to that tyranny that it ever had, have an emperor to owe his empire to the queen’s armies as conducted by his grace, are splendours that outshine any reward they can receive.

“ I do not wonder you are all joy. You have just cause for it, and to recount every day with the utmost thankfulness the amazing blessings God has heaped upon you. The bishop heartily prays for the continuance of the duke’s success, so that the queen may have the greatest glory that is possible, that is the restoring peace and liberty to Europe, and what is greater, the free profes-

* Alluding to the title of prince.

sion of the protestant religion, wherever it has been persecuted or oppressed ; and that after her, her ministers, who are the instruments, may share in the lasting blessings and glory due to such benefactors to mankind. Sure no honest man can refuse to unite in such noble designs. I am really giddy with joy, and if I rave you must forgive me. I can lament for no private loss, since God has given such a general mercy. In death it would be a matter of joy to me to have lived so long as to hear it.

“The bishop said he could not sleep, his heart was so charged with joy. He desires your grace would carefully lay up that little letter* as a relic that cannot be valued enough. Some wiser people than myself think the nation is in so good a humour with this great success and the plentiful harvest, that better circumstances can hardly meet for a new parliament; and with a little care, it may be as good a one as the depraved manners of this nation is capable of. I pray God direct and prosper all her majesty's counsels and resolutions in this, and every thing else, and make her the universal protectress of truth and charity. And may your grace be ever a happy favourite, happy in all your advices and services, and happy in her majesty's kind approbation and esteem, and may every honest heart love you as well, and endeavour to serve you as faithfully as does your grace's most obedient, &c.”

While Marlborough was thus raising the glory of his country to a height greater than it had ever before reached, while his victories were fixing the religion and constitution on a firm basis, he was exposed to the petty cavils of the discontented among both parties in England, whom he equally offended by his desire of preserving himself in a state of independence.

During the march through Germany, and while the plans of Marlborough were not yet developed, the violent tories, as well as the enemies to the protestant establishment had openly declared, that they would attack him in parliament. They complained

* Private letter from the duke.

that the troops were led on a distant and perilous expedition ; that the territory of the dutch was left exposed to the superior forces of the enemy ; and that the general had exceeded the limits of his instructions, and the responsibility of a subject, with a view to promote his own private interest. Rochester and Nottingham in the Lords, and Sir Edward Seymour in the Commons, gave the signal to their party. Sir Edward Seymour even declared, in the language of a sportsman, that he and his friends would pounce upon the adventurous commander at his return, as hounds pounce on a hare ; and threats were even thrown out, that his rash expedition, if unsuccessful, would probably bring his head to the block.

But when a decisive victory was gained, when the empire and England were rescued from the impending peril, and the glory of Marlborough shone forth with transcendant lustre, his enemies were confounded, though not silenced. The shame of their frustrated prophecies rankled in their memory ; their pride was wounded by the downfall of that colossus which had so long been the subject of their eulogy ; and they saw that the same hand which had disproved the invincibility of France, had sealed their own exclusion from power. In the heartfelt agony of disappointed ambition and mortified vanity, they had no alternative but to decry that success which they had declared to be unattainable, and to hold forth the yet inexhaustible resources and unconquered spirit of the enemy. They represented the victory as an useless waste of blood, and the first of an endless series of conflicts, with a power, which rose like the hydra, with new vigour from every defeat.

These clamours and invectives were transmitted in exaggerated terms by the duchess to her husband. Though her letters are lost, some written by her correspondent, Mrs. Burnett, still remain, which were communicated to the duke, and furnish a new proof of the implacable spirit of party.

“ August 5. I know that the people you mention, generally lessen the victory, and what is more strange to me, they will hardly ever believe any news that lessens France, but swallow up any to its advantage. This is true of my own knowledge, and

that of some who are not of the worst sort of tories, but give credit to what others set about."

"Sept. 9. I am very much of your grace's mind about the lady's discovery; for though I know these people are full of hopes on slight grounds, and can hardly keep in what lies uppermost on their heart, yet from many observations, I am persuaded their expectations have not been higher of a long time, than before the late glorious victory; and indeed they had a great foundation from abroad, though nothing had been designed at home. One of these said, not long ago, it was true a great many men were killed and taken, but that to the french king was no more than to take a bucket of water out of a river; and they seem so possessed with what his flatterers say of his greatness, that they almost deem him omnipotent."

We feel regret in observing frequent proofs in the correspondence of Marlborough, that these bitter effusions of party rancour made a deep impression on his sensitive mind.

TO THE DUCHESS.

"*Sefelingen, August 25.*

"Since my last I have received four letters of my dearest soul's of the 16th, 21st, and 28th, for which I return her a thousand thanks. I find by some of your's that I am very much obliged to 22,* and some of his friends, that take the action of Donawert not to be a victory. I wish that and our last battle could have been obtained without the hazard of any but myself; his lordship then would not have complained; for this last action I will be answerable his friend the king of France will own the victory. It is not to be imagined with what precipitation they have quitted this country."

"*Camp at Gross-Gartach, Sept. 2, 1704.*

"I must beg my dearest soul to make my acknowledgments to the queen for her very obliging letter, believing it much easier than to trouble her with a letter of mine. I hope the elector of

* Probably lord Rochester.

Bavaria and the remainder of the french army (who notwithstanding they were joined by the duke of Villeroy and his army, did not think themselves strong enough to stay for us, but are glad to put the Rhine between us), will be able to convince 17 that the french think themselves beaten. I am sure we can never bless God enough for the success he has given us, it being much above our own expectations. But if those sort of gentlemen think there has not been enough done, I hope he will bless us with a farther success, which at last must bring us to happiness in spite of them, which shall be the prayers and endeavours of him that loves you dearly."

Alluding to the reflection mentioned in the letter of Mrs. Burnett, he afterwards observes:—

"What 92 says of a bucket of water, if they will allow us to draw one or two such buckets more, I should think we might then let the river run quietly, and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours, or be much concerned whether 17 and 21 were in or out of humour."

However vexed with the machinations and malicious clamours of the tories, Marlborough was not less indignant at the censures of the violent whigs, who endeavoured to avenge his coldness towards their party, by re-echoing the declamations of their political antagonists. His disgust was increased by the incessant importunities of the duchess, who exclaimed against his neglect of such meritorious supporters, and his attachment to an ungrateful faction.

He frequently gives vent to these feelings in his correspondence.

* * * "Oct. 20th, 1704. I have just now received your's of the 23rd from the Lodge, and am a good deal concerned to find by it that 87 is still of the opinion that 16 and 86 play a game that must be fatal, if the designs of 92 do not prove successful. I was in hopes that 86 had done so much towards the hindering 92 succeeding, that his greatest enemies would not deem him so weak and foolish as to think they could ever forgive him. I do assure you as for myself, my pretending to be of no party, is not designed to get favour, or to deceive any body, for I am very little

concerned what any party thinks of me; I know them both so well, that if my quiet depended upon either of them, I should be most miserable, as I find happiness is not to be had in this world, which I did flatter myself might have been enjoyed in a retired life. I will endeavour to leave a good name behind me in countries that have hardly any blessing but that of not knowing the detested names of whig and tory."

We have already observed that when lord Nottingham retired, he left a strong party of his adherents in the offices of government, whose continuance was tolerated by the minister, from respect to the partialities of the queen. The principal of these were the duke of Buckingham, privy seal, and sir Nathan Wright, lord keeper. These ministers imitated the example of their disgraced leader, in caballing against the general and treasurer, joining in the clamours of their party, and obstructing the measures of government. In the correspondence of the year, we find some vague hints thrown out relative to the removal of the lord keeper; but the chief battery was levelled against the duke of Buckingham, whose high rank and favour with the queen rendered him an object of more serious apprehension. The duchess took an active share in this political feud, and not only importuned her husband to discard such insidious colleagues, but vehemently reproached lord Godolphin for his impolicy and pusillanimity in suffering them to continue in a situation where they could thwart his views. One of the few letters written by this singular woman which have escaped destruction, will display the high tone she assumed in political transactions.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"I am glad you don't think me in the wrong as to what I wrote concerning 43, and I find I might have won a good wager when I said 17 would keep his winter quarters in the queen's house, to cabal with all her enemies. Indeed it is a very certain case that those gentlemen who have been so much favoured, will never serve the queen thoroughly, though they will be very unwilling to part with their employments. And why the queen should accept of

such services from people that have no reputation, lord Marlborough and you will find it a pretty hard thing to give a good reason, when the whole world knows that there has not been upon the throne a person with more virtue and good qualities for the public, nor more surely in their interest."

In this predicament Godolphin appealed to the duke for advice and consolation. The duchess also did not omit an opportunity of inveighing against the misconduct of a tory; and yielding to her usual bias, recommended the duke of Newcastle, a zealous whig, as a fit person to supply the place of Buckingham. These applications reached Marlborough in his toilsome march through Germany; but he declined interfering, on the plea that his military business required his whole attention, and left the decision to lord Godolphin, who being on the spot was more competent to form an accurate judgment.

So petty a cabal was forgotten amidst the grand events which ensued; but in his progress from Landau to Treves he was assailed with new importunities. During his stay before Landau, and in his march to Treves, we find him venting his spleen against all parties.

TO THE DUCHESS.

"Camp at St. Wendel, Oct. 20.

"That you may never feel the uneasinesses I endure, and that every thing may go to your own heart's desire, is the earnest wishes of him that is much your's. In return he hopes he shall never be desired to recommend any body into a place of trust, being what I have resolved positively never to do. I shall serve the queen with all my soul, even to the hazard of a thousand lives, if I had them. But while I live, I will meddle with no business but what belongs to the army. And this I shall beg of the queen on my knees, if there be any occasion for it; and from henceforward shall never more use the expression of being of no party, but shall certainly not care what any party thinks of me, being resolved to commend myself to the people of England, by being to the best of my understanding, in the true interest of my country.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Camp near Traerbach, Nov. 3.

"If I do not succeed at Berlin, it will not be necessary for me to stay at either of these courts above two or three days. However it will make my coming into England very late this year, so that I can't forbear writing to you about 19, for I have it from other letters as well as your's, that he is in measures with 17 (Nottingham), and 18, to give all the obstruction that is in their power to the carrying on of the public business with vigour this sessions, on which I think not only the queen's honour, but her safety depends; for France is now in that condition, that if her majesty's arms have good success this next year, she will have it in her power to make such a peace as may make Christendom quiet as long as it may please God to bless us with her life. I do not think that 19 has any personal interest; but should he be left in the employment he is now in, it would be a great encouragement to others to do like him, which might be very prejudicial. I write very freely to you on this occasion, knowing his natural to be such, that his whole malice will be employed against yourself and me. I know not what her majesty's thoughts may be as to filling of that place; but I must put you in mind of what Mr. Guidot has many times said to me, that 55 was the most desirous in the world of coming into her majesty's service. My objection was, he was too much a party man; he always replied, that he was sure that he would be every thing that the queen would have him. If her majesty could be assured of this, and that he would live at court, his estate is so very great, that he would certainly be of use. You on the place are much more capable of judging what is right in this matter than I can possibly be at this distance; but I shall venture to say positively, that after the success of this summer, the more her majesty takes upon her to discountenance such as are not zealous in the common cause, the more her glory will increase, both at home and abroad. I shall be at Landau on Thursday, from whence you shall have an account of that siege, which has lasted much longer than it ought to have done. I am ever your's."

But he was unable to repel their repeated instances, and at length yielded to new solicitations, though with unfeigned reluctance. In a letter to Godolphin, from the camp near Traerbach, Nov. 3, he states, that as he was likely to be detained abroad longer than he expected, he would not avoid recommending the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham, and the transfer of the privy seal to the duke of Newcastle. He also acknowledges that his former hesitation on this point rose from his objections to Newcastle as a party man. In a letter of the same date to the duchess, he confesses that he had yielded to her importunities.

“ I did in a former letter tell you, I did desire I might never have any hand in recommending any body to a place of trust; I am still of the same opinion, and I shall take it as a great mark of your kindness your indulging me in this. And unless you resolve not to ask me, I find I can't keep my resolution. I have writ to my lord treasurer as you desired concerning 19 and 55. I can refuse you nothing, and I beg you will give me that quiet of mind; as to tell me you approve of my resolution, and then I am sure I shall keep it. My troublesome journey to Berlin will be much easier to me by your thinking I ought to do it, because it may prove of service to the public. But I almost despair of success, though I do serve the queen and common cause with all my heart; but it is you only can give me much trouble, or make me very happy.”

CHAPTER 31.

1704.

Conclusion of the treaty with the electress of Bavaria—Attempts to mediate an accommodation between the court of Vienna and the insurgents in Hungary—State of the war in Portugal, and arrangements made by Marlborough—His anxiety to relieve the distress of the duke of Savoy—Journey to Berlin to procure a reinforcement of prussian troops—Visits Hanover—Returns to the Hague.

DURING his continuance before Landau, Marlborough had the satisfaction of promoting the conclusion of the treaty which had been pending with the electress of Bavaria since the battle of Blenheim. By arguments and remonstrances he conquered the repugnance of the emperor, whose inveteracy against the bavarian family was extreme, and who was strongly inclined to visit on the electress and her children the political delinquency of her husband. After an arduous struggle between resentment on one hand, and wounded pride on the other, the electress agreed to surrender all the fortresses and magazines in Bavaria, to disband the army and militia, and to restore the conquests of her husband in the Tyrol. In return she was permitted to reside at Munich with a guard of 400 men, and to receive an adequate revenue for her support. The states of Bavaria were to retain their privileges, but the whole country was placed under an austrian administration.*

From the time of his arrival on the Rhine, Marlborough, though occupied with the military operations immediately under his direction, anxiously looked to the more distant scenes of the war,

* Falkenstein, p. 813.

which though extending to the remotest parts of Europe, yet rested on his decision and superintendence.

He had been long and seriously occupied in mediating a reconciliation between the court of Vienna and the hungarian insurgents, an arrangement which was rendered extremely difficult by the jarring pretensions of the contending parties. The insurgents endeavoured to extort, not only a full confirmation of the religious liberties, but also of all the civil rights which their ancestors had ever enjoyed, while the emperor, was equally averse to concessions which he deemed no less contrary to the interests of the catholic church, than to the prerogatives of his crown. New difficulties also arose from the existing circumstances. The victory of Blenheim having removed the imminent danger which threatened the house of Austria, the emperor felt less anxiety for reconciliation with his contumacious subjects; while the hungarians considering the influence of Marlborough as rendered paramount by his late success, endeavoured to avail themselves of the anxiety which he had uniformly testified for an accommodation.

Indeed he had already employed his mediation, through the agency of Mr. Stepney, british minister at Vienna, but without effect. Finding, however, that no progress could be made by an indirect correspondence, he summoned Mr. Stepney to the camp at Weissemburg, that he might obtain a more accurate knowledge of the question, and accelerate an arrangement by his personal instances with the king of the Romans, prince Eugene, and the ministers who had attended the heir apparent to the army. Repeated conferences were held in vain; the affair was prolonged by continual appeals to the court of Vienna; and the dispute was aggravated by new persecutions of the jesuits, against which the insurgents indignantly appealed to the feelings of Marlborough. After a long discussion, no specific arrangement could be adjusted, and Marlborough with regret was obliged to defer the accomplishment of this important negotiation to an indefinite period.

He experienced great difficulty also in arranging the complicated affairs of Portugal; and from his correspondence we trace

the germ of those unfortunate disputes which afterwards contributed to dissipate the well founded hopes formed of the war in the Peninsula.

The british fleet under the command of sir George Rooke, which had conveyed Charles to Lisbon, had transported also a considerable auxiliary force of english and dutch. The king of Portugal had pledged himself to hold in readiness a subsidiary army of 28,000 men, and it was proposed to open the campaign early in May, before the Spaniards could be prepared for defence. But these expectations were far from being realised. A long peace had enervated the portuguese; their fortresses were dilapidated, their magazines unprovided; their troops, without pay or clothing, deserted in great numbers; horses were wanting for the conveyance of stores and baggage; the generals were inexperienced, and the captious spirit of Das Minas, the commander in chief, added continual obstructions to all active operations. The king of Portugal himself, afflicted with a hypochondriac malady, had lost his wonted vigour of mind and body; the tardy forms of the government were a source of continual obstruction; the chief ministers were in the interest of France, and the indisposition of the sovereign furnished continual pretexts or occasions for delay.

Under such disadvantages the projected invasion of Spain could not be carried into effect; but Portugal itself became the first scene of this long and sanguinary war. An army of 40,000 Spaniards, assisted by a body of 12,000 french, under the command of the duke of Berwick, burst over the frontiers early in April, captured several petty fortresses, and reduced Castel Branco, the key of the Tagus.

In this alarming state of affairs, the disputes which arose between Schomberg and Fagel, the english and dutch commanders, increased the confusion, and a similar spirit of contention broke forth with the portuguese. After a repose of a few weeks, during the summer heats, a new arrangement of the command was found necessary. By the advice of Marlborough, the earl of Galway was chosen to supersede Schomberg, and landed at Lisbon on the

3rd of July, with a reinforcement of 4,000 men. The army being refreshed and reorganised, Charles and the king of Portugal, who had partially recovered from his malady, took the field in person, with the design of penetrating to Madrid; but the usual bickerings and discordance arising, they were unable to contend with the skill and ability of Berwick, and deemed themselves sufficiently fortunate in delivering Portugal from the insults of a hostile army.

On the eastern coast of Spain an attempt by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, assisted with the english fleet, to surprise Barcelona, failed of success. A compensation was, however, made for the disappointment by the capture of Gibraltar, which being ill guarded, was surprised by a small body of english sailors, as the fleet was returning to Lisbon, discouraged and discontented. This valuable acquisition, though afterwards of such essential advantage in the operations of the war, and of such permanent utility to England, was now rather a burthen than a benefit; because the cares required for its security divided the attention of the commanders, diverted the fleet from other services, and weakened an army already too reduced for a vigorous effort.

From this brief survey of the campaign, we may readily conceive the anxiety which agitated the mind of Marlborough, who was made the arbiter and mediator of every dispute, and the director of every operation, and whose attention was incessantly employed in soothing the captious spirit of the portuguese, in modifying the contending pretensions of the english and dutch, and in combating the importunities of all parties in England for appointments and commands.

Marlborough also interested himself with the greatest zeal in the arrangement for granting relief to the duke of Savoy. In Italy the superiority of the french forces had overborne all opposition. Victor Amadeus, unable to withstand the enemy in the field, had witnessed the reduction of Vercelli and Ivrea, and the investment of Verrua, the key of his capital; and posting his little army at Crescentino, had confined his efforts to the supply of troops

and provisions, in order to protract as long as possible the crisis of his fate. He bore his reverses with the most laudable magnanimity, and on the zeal and activity of the british commander placed his only hopes of relief. Mr. Hill, who was an eye witness of his distress, spoke his sentiments in a letter to Marlborough; and after enumerating a long catalogue of disasters, added, "We expect salvation from no side but from your grace, but from thence we do expect it."

On this subject the court of Vienna also interested itself with unusual warmth. Leopold, who was anxious to expel the french from Italy, sent a letter to the british commander, dated the 26th of September, apprising him that the marquis de Prie, minister of the duke of Savoy, had solicited assistance, and was deputed to make a similar appeal to him and Eugene. After stating the deplorable situation of the duke of Savoy, the emperor strongly supported his demand, and urged that the reduction of Ivrea would involve the loss of the capital, and leave the unfortunate prince no alternative but to submit to the terms dictated by France. He argued that the conquest of Piemont would be followed by a more strenuous effort in Spain, whither the enemy would then turn their victorious army. After stating that he would himself have furnished the succours required, had not his whole disposable force been employed, and Hungary in an unsettled state, he concludes by requesting that Marlborough would not dismiss the minister, at least without consolation; but that he would devise with his colleagues the means of detaching a powerful succour. He then expatiated on the impolicy of suffering so useful an ally to be overwhelmed, and added, that his son and his generals were authorised to confer on the subject with the minister of Savoy.*

Marlborough did not need such pressing instances to stimulate his zeal. In the course of his correspondence we find that his

* Letter from the emperor Leopold to the duke of Marlborough, in the Blenheim Papers.

thoughts had been long and seriously employed in discovering a remedy. Such a remedy was however by no means easily devised. The auxiliary troops, in the pay of the maritime powers, could not be drafted for a winter campaign into Italy, because it was expressly stipulated that they should not serve out of Germany. It was equally impracticable to make a draft from the army in the Netherlands, and even money could elicit no farther aid from the petty princes in Germany. As little could he rely on any assistance from the imperial court, notwithstanding their magnificent promises; for he observes, in a letter to Godolphin, "Should the emperor send into Italy all the troops he can supply, they would not amount to more than 3,000 men." Even for so small a detachment no magazines were provided, and it was the observation of Eugene, that if sent, they must perish for want of subsistence.

In this predicament, no resource was left but to apply to the king of Prussia, for a subsidiary corps of 8,000 men, and endeavour to obtain his consent by a new appeal to his vanity. On this subject Marlborough secretly disclosed his views to the lord treasurer, and offered, though with undisguised reluctance, to solicit the aid in person. He found, however, great objections to the proposal from the anxiety of Godolphin, and the queen for his speedy return to England, as well as from the importunities of the duchess, who dreaded the effects of so toilsome a journey in the heart of winter, after his late severe indisposition.* His own letters also announce his extreme aversion of this fatiguing expedition; but he could not withstand the instances of the emperor, the heartfelt appeals of the duke of Savoy, the solicitations of the king of the Romans, and above all the conviction of its necessity.

October 3rd, he observes to the duchess:

"After I have disposed of every thing for the taking such winter quarters as I wish to have, I shall not stay a day longer

* Letters from Marlborough to Godolphin and the duchess, in September and October.

with the troops than what is absolutely necessary; for if the service should require my going to Berlin, that will cost me at least a fortnight. I am very much afraid that my going may do no good, but if I should not go, the emperor and the States may think the eight thousand men might have been had, if I could have taken the pains of going, so that you see if they insist upon it I must undertake that trouble."

Finding the siege of Landau still prolonged beyond his expectations, Marlborough left the command of the covering army to Eugene, and took his departure for Berlin on the 15th of November, with a heavy heart, and expresses his chagrin at the prospect of his irksome journey.

"Weisseburg, November 10.

"I think to begin my journey on Friday or Saturday next. I own that my heart aches at the thought of it, since I shall be forced to go above eight hundred miles before I get to the Hague, in the very worst time of the year; and that which is worst of all, with very little hopes of succeeding."

During his journey he had the satisfaction of hearing that Landau had surrendered. The intelligence was communicated from the royal camp at Ibbesville, November 23, by Joseph himself. The notification was written, as is usual, in the diplomatic style, and in the latin tongue, and signed "Benevolus Consanguineus Josephus." But the young monarch instead of confining himself to the mere form of the chancery, added in his own hand expressions of his gratitude.

"To you I owe the success of this enterprise. I hope it will not be the last we shall obtain together. I shall never forget the services which you have rendered to the common cause, as well as to my house; and I shall always derive great pleasure in giving you marks of my esteem and affection."

Marlborough reached Berlin in the evening of the 22nd of Nov., and without a moment's delay waited on the king and queen, who received him with great kindness, and testified their gratitude to his sovereign. He superseded the formalities of a punctilious court, and after two audiences of the king, entered into the details

of the negotiation with the ministers. The greatest difficulty which he had to combat was derived from the dread of the king of Prussia, lest the conflict between Sweden and Poland would spread into his own dominions, during the absence of his troops. The difficulty was increased by the arrival of the grand treasurer of Poland, who was dispatched by king Augustus for the purpose of forming a common cause with Prussia against the attacks of Sweden. This envoy even recurred to the duke for the support of the queen and States. But Marlborough dexterously eluded the application; and carefully abstaining from extraneous discussions, he directed his whole efforts to allay the fears which the king of Prussia felt of the designs of Sweden. At length he succeeded in gaining the assent of the prussian monarch, by pledging his sovereign and the States, not only to secure the tranquillity of the prussian territories during the absence of the troops, but also to employ their concurrence in preventing the extension of the troubles which threatened the german empire.

He thus not only obtained the auxiliary succour, but he also performed great service to the common cause, by prevailing on the king of Prussia to suspend his claims to the inheritance of king William, which had already produced a serious misunderstanding with the dutch.

TO THE DUCHESS. *Berlin, Nov. 23.*

"I write to you from Cassel, and since have had no opportunity of writing till now. The ways have been so bad I have been obliged to be every day 14 or 15 hours on the road, which has made my side very sore; but three or four days I shall stay here, will make me able to go on. Besides I intend two days at Hanover, and after that shall make all the haste I can to the Hague, when I hope to dispatch every thing, so as to embark in eight days if the wind prove fair. I have not time to open the letters that are come from England, and must answer them by the next post. I am with heart and soul yours."

Berlin, Nov. 25.
"I am very sorry that poor lady Sunderland's boy is not well,

for I am sensible how great a trouble such a loss would be. As to what she writes concerning the city, I shall like whatever you and 16 shall think proper. I have been invited by the burgomaster of Amsterdam, and if (the) that town continues to be of the opinion, to see me there when I come into Holland, I intend to go for one day, as I shall do at London, if my friends think proper, without considering what party governs; for by the help of God, I shall endeavour to govern myself by what I think is right, and not because it may be desired by a party; for I am so little fond of any party, that I no ways envy what is done to 64. Were the affairs of the queen and Europe in such a condition that one might sleep quietly and safely in his own house, I had much rather any body were at the head of the army than myself; for parties are grown so very unreasonable that one ought not to expect any other than hardships, though without faults, when success is not with us."

"Berlin, Nov. 27.

"I have been forced to stay here three days longer than I intended, but at last I have finished so far, that they have promised to sign the treaty for 8,000 men, for the duke of Savoy at 12 o'clock this day, at which time I shall have my coach ready; but shall not be able to get to Hanover till Monday night, and hope to finish what I have to do there by Wednesday night, so that I may set forward to Holland on Thursday. I am very well contented at the pains I have taken in coming hither, since it has obtained 8,000 men for the speedy relief of the duke of Savoy, this being the only prince of the empire in condition to send any men. I hope Holland as well as her majesty will approve of what I have done, it being the only thing that in probability can save Savoy. It is not to be expressed the civilities and honours they have done me here, the ministers assuring me that no other body could have prevailed with the king. My next will be from Hanover, and then you must not expect to hear from me till I come to Holland. I am with all my heart entirely yours. My most humble duty to the queen."

At his last audience, the king of Prussia after having testified great satisfaction for the kind visit, and after many warm expres-

sions of esteem and friendship, honoured him with presents of considerable value. In his way from Berlin to the Hague, he made a short stay at Hanover to pay his respects to the elector, and was received with those demonstrations of respect and esteem which were due to the glorious commander who had secured the liberties of Germany.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“Hanover, Dec. 2.

“On my arrival here I found two of your dear letters, and could you know the true satisfaction I have when they are kind, you will ever make me happy. I shall go from hence on Thursday, so that on this day se’nnight I hope to write from the Hague, where I will make as little stay as the business will allow of. I have so much respect shewn me here, that I have hardly time to write. The king of Prussia did me all the honour he could, and indeed I have met with more kindness and respect every where than I could have imagined. But by my letters from England I find that zeal and success is only capable of protecting me from the malice of villainous faction; so that if it were not for the great obligation I owe to the queen, nothing should persuade me evermore to stir out of England. We have the news here that Landau and Traerbach are taken, so that thanks be to God this campaign is ended, to the greatest advantage for the allies, that has been for a great while. I long extremely to be with you and the children, so that you may be sure I shall lose no time when the wind is fair.”

Having attained the object for which he took this tedious journey, in so late a season, Marlborough returned to the Hague in order to embark for England with the first fair wind, as soon as he had arranged the measures for opening the next campaign as early and as vigorously as possible.

CHAPTER 32.

1704.

Conduct of Marlborough and Godolphin on the revival of the bill against occasional conformity—Attempt of the tories to tack it to the land tax—Defeated—Marlborough arrives in England—Distinguished by accumulated honours and rewards—The queen confers on him the manor of Woodstock, and orders the palace of Blenheim to be built for his residence.

DURING the continuance of Marlborough at the Hague, he received many communications from his correspondents in England, on the proceedings in parliament, and the state and temper of parties. In the speech from the throne, the queen noticed the unanimous joy and satisfaction of all her good subjects at the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms; and observed, that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to establish a lasting foundation of peace for England, and a firm support for the liberty of Europe. After requiring the necessary supplies from the commons, and urging a speedy dispatch of business, she concluded with recommending unanimity at home as the surest means of baffling the hopes of her enemies, who placed their principal reliance on the feuds and divisions of her people.

Congratulatory addresses were voted by both houses, though in a different style. The commons, among whom the tory interest predominated, expressed their satisfaction at the glorious success of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough; but still with a bias to their principles and party, they did not hesitate to bestow similar praise on the indecisive engagement of Sir George Rooke with the french fleet off Malaga, thus depre-

ciating the great event which had given liberty to Germany, to a level with an action which produced neither honour nor advantage. The lords on the contrary expressed the national sentiment by passing over in silence an engagement unworthy of public thanks, and confining their praises to the exploits of the illustrious commander. In a strain of spirited eulogium, they added, "We can never enough admire your majesty's wisdom and courage in sending that reasonable and necessary assistance to the empire, and we cannot too much commend the secrecy and bravery with which your orders were executed."*

But whatever were the feelings of party, or the prejudices of individuals, the splendid successes of the campaign overbore all opposition, and confounded all attempts to prevent the vigorous prosecution of the war. The queen was requested by the legislature to bestow her bounty on the soldiers and sailors who had deserved so well of their country; the supplies were voted without a dissenting voice; the ways and means were settled without difficulty; and the land tax bill, which formed the principal branch, received the royal assent on the 9th of December, only six weeks after the commencement of the session.

But though unable to withstand the current of popular opinion, the violent tories seized the earliest opportunity to thwart the measures of government, by reviving the bill against Occasional Conformity. Notwithstanding their defeat the preceding year, they were too desirous of reducing the interest of their political opponents to relinquish this favourite scheme. By adopting such changes as were calculated to obviate the former objections, they hoped to render it more palatable; and therefore they now again brought it forward with some amendments in the preamble, and similar modifications in the penalties.

But since the last struggle a considerable change had taken place on this subject in the mind of the queen, and the sentiments of the ministry. However inclined to the high church doctrines, she

* Journals of both houses, and Chandler's Debates of Lords and Commons.

was not ignorant of the selfish and interested motives which actuated the movers of this obnoxious law. Both Marlborough and the lord treasurer, though imbued with the same opinions, were still more conscious that the bill was not intended as a security to the church, but as a covert attack against themselves and the whigs, by whom they were supported.

Nothing, however, could restrain the animosity of the zealous tories, and knowing the secret inclinations of the queen to be at variance with her public declaration, they persisted more strenuously in their design, the more it was deprecated by the ministers. To give strength and consistency to their efforts, they formed clubs and societies, and appeared determined to sacrifice the principles of the constitution and the honour of the country, rather than relinquish their darling object. As they expected the most vigorous opposition in the house of lords, they resolved to make the grant of the supply depend on the fate of the bill.

After these preparatory measures, the act was again brought into the house of commons by Mr. Bromley, and was ordered for a second reading. To vanquish the opposition of the peers, the authors of the measure proposed to tack it to the bill for the land tax, the only branch of the supply which had not been voted; although on the credit of that grant, Marlborough had concluded the treaty with Prussia, for a succour of 8,000 men, who were now marching to relieve the duke of Savoy.

This unconstitutional attempt furnished still stronger objections against the measure, than even its undisguised spirit of persecution. The moderate tories, with Harley at their head, were deeply offended by the factious conduct of those with whom they were hitherto identified, and heartily joined with the whigs and court party to thwart the obnoxious act. Lord Cutts and Sir Charles Hedges, though tories, dwelt with peculiar energy on the discouragement which any division between the two houses on this contested point, would spread through the whole confederacy, as well as on the mischief which must ensue to the common cause, if the treaty with the king of Prussia, which the duke of Marlborough had concluded on the faith of parliament, should be

suspended. To the honour of a large body among the tories, these cogent arguments outweighed the prejudices of party. The movers of the bill were deserted by 120 of their friends, and the tack was negatived by a majority of 251 against 134, among whom we distinguish Harley and his adherents.

The duke of Marlborough was abroad when this effort was made in the house of commons; but we are acquainted with his sentiments by a letter which he wrote to Harley, to whom he principally ascribed the defeat of the bill.

“Hague, Dec. 16.

“I must confess by what was sent the former post I could not help being under some apprehensions from the proceedings of the house of commons, with relation to the Occasional Bill; so that the account you now send me was so much the more welcome. And when I reflect on the dangerous consequences the obstinacy of some people might have produced, I cannot but think this happy turn is as great a victory with reference to England, as any advantages we have had since I saw you; and I hope every body will do you the justice to attribute the greatest share of it to your prudent management and zeal for the public.”

Although foiled in this effort, the bill without the tack was carried through the house by the tory interest, and transmitted to the lords. In the upper house it would have been negatived almost without a division, had not the queen herself appeared in the gallery, with the view of allaying dissensions by her presence. The expedient, however, produced a contrary effect; for the hope of making an impression on the mind of the sovereign, called forth all the eloquence of the contending parties. It was at length rejected by a majority of twenty-one voices more than on the last occasion. Lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, who had just returned from abroad, gave each a silent vote against the bill. The protest was signed only by Nottingham, Rochester, and the most zealous tories.*

* Journals of the lords and commons—Chandler's Debates—Tindal—Oldmixon—Mrs. Burnet's letters to the duchess of Marlborough.

The violence of the high tories produced the deepest injury to their cause. Their defeat increased the schism in the party, and contributed to alienate still more the treasurer and the commander. In adverting to this subject, the language of Marlborough assumes an unwonted tone of hostility, which proves his increasing aversion to a party with whom he had once cordially acted.

In a letter to lord Godolphin, dated April 14, he observes, "As to what you say of the tackers, I think the answer and method that should be taken is what is practised in all armies, that is, if the enemy give no quarter, they should have none given to them."

Godolphin also adopted a similar tone. "Although," he says, "there must be no present resentment shewn, nor so much as threatened, yet I assure you, when the session is over, I shall never think any man fit to continue in his employment who gave his vote for the tack."*

In the midst of this political struggle, Marlborough arrived in England. He quitted the Hague on the 11th of December, and embarked on board one of the royal yachts, in company with marshal Tallard and other prisoners of distinction, bringing with him the standards and other trophies of his victory. He landed on the 14th, and the same morning experienced a cordial reception from the queen, to whom he paid his respects at the palace of St. James. On the following day he took his seat in the house of peers, and was welcomed by the lord keeper with an address of congratulation, and the same day a committee of the commons attended him to express their thanks for his great and glorious services. His answers to both evinced the modest dignity of a great mind; for next to the blessing of God, he ascribed his success to the extraordinary courage of the officers and soldiers under his command.

Every honour and reward which could be conferred on a subject

* Letter to the duchess, without date.

was lavished on the able and fortunate commander. On the 3rd of January the trophies of the victory were removed from the tower, where they were first deposited, to Westminster-hall. The cavalcade consisted of companies of horse and foot guards, intermixed with persons of distinction, who attended to do honour to the occasion, and was closed by one hundred and twenty-eight pike-men, each bearing an uplifted standard. Amidst the thunder of artillery, and the shouts of an exulting multitude, the procession moved through the streets of London and Westminster, in solemn pomp, and traversing the Green Park, was viewed by the queen from one of the windows of the palace. Since the defeat of the spanish armada, so triumphant a spectacle had never gladdened the eyes of a british public ; nor was the effect unworthy of the occasion ; the pulse of the nation beat high with joy, and the names of Anne and Marlborough were mingled amidst the testimonies of tumultuous exultation, which burst from all ranks and orders.*

On the 6th the duke attended a grand entertainment, which was given in Goldsmith's-hall, by the lord mayor and heads of the city. He was conveyed in one of the royal carriages, and accompanied by the lord treasurer, the duke of Somerset, master of the horse, and the prince of Hesse, who had so well distinguished himself in the same field of honour ; and attended by a numerous cavalcade of carriages, filled with foreign ministers, generals, and persons of the most exalted rank. At Temple Bar he was received in the usual state by the city marshals, and the multitudes, who thronged the streets, and crowded the roofs and windows of every house, to catch a glance of their illustrious countryman, evinced the general interest taken in his success, and the heartfelt gratitude which it awakened in every bosom.†

The queen was eager to testify her regard to the fortunate commander ; but recollecting the disappointment of her proposal

* History of Europe, January 1705—Tindal—Ledyard.

† Tindal—History of Europe, for January 1705—Ledyard.

the preceding year, it was thought more proper, that the usual recompence attached to great actions should be given by the spontaneous voice of the national representatives. In her speech to parliament, she therefore simply alluded to the late glorious victory, without even mentioning the name of the duke, or alluding to any remuneration. Indeed any appeal to public feeling was needless ; for the party who had so contemptuously rejected the former proposal, was silenced by the national voice.

The commons accordingly presented an address, soliciting her majesty to consider of proper means for perpetuating the memory of the great services performed by the duke of Marlborough.

Anne rejoiced that she could at length indulge the sentiments of her gratitude towards the duke and affection towards the duchess. On the 17th of February she informed the house, that in conformity with their application, she purposed to convey to the duke and his heirs the interest of the crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton, and requested supplies for clearing off the incumbrances on that domain. A bill for the purpose was immediately introduced ; passed both houses without opposition ; and received the royal sanction on the 14th of March. The preamble contained a recapitulation of the unparalleled services performed by Marlborough, not only to his own sovereign and fellow-subjects, but to all Europe ; and that the gift itself should remain as a perpetual memorial, it was made a condition of the tenure, that the possessor should present to the queen and her successors, on the anniversary of the victory, a standard emblazoned with three fleurs-de-lis on a field argent, the achievement of France.*

Not satisfied that the nation alone should testify its gratitude, the queen accompanied the grant with an order to the board of works to erect, at the royal expence, a splendid palace, which,

* Journals—History of Europe for 1705—Ledyard.

in memory of the victory, was to be called the Castle of Blenheim. A model was immediately constructed for the approbation of the queen, and the work was commenced without delay, under the direction of Mr., afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, who was then regarded as one of the first architects of the age.

CHAPTER 33.

1705.

Effects of the bill against occasional conformity—Unpopularity of the tories—State of parties—Characters of the whig junta—Political system of Marlborough and Godolphin—Views of the whigs to gain the ascendancy—Disgrace of Buckingham—Admission of several whigs into the offices of government—Cabals to obtain the promotion of Sunderland—His appointment as ambassador to Vienna—Embarrassments of Marlborough, derived from these political feuds.

THE factious conduct of the high tories in general, and particularly their recent attempt to extort the acquiescence of the peers in the bill against occasional conformity, by means of the tack, produced an essential change in the sentiments and political system of Marlborough and Godolphin.

Notwithstanding repeated insults and mortifications, they had hitherto adhered to the party with whom they had been long identified; and even when compelled to break with the more violent, they still preserved their connection with the moderate, and laboured to retain, in the offices of government, a majority of those who professed congenial sentiments. But they now felt from experience, that nothing would conciliate the spirit of faction; and they saw in the example of Buckingham and his adherents, the impossibility of continuing to act on the same independent system. The unpopularity of the violent tories, who became notorious under the name of tackers, gave an additional bias to their sentiments, and furnished new motives for a change of domestic policy.

During the winter, Marlborough and Godolphin had seriously deliberated on their future conduct towards the two contending parties, and on the measures to be pursued in the elections

for the new parliament, which, according to the triennial act, was to meet in the ensuing April. They concurred in a resolution to conciliate the confidence of the moderate and liberal on both sides. Hence Marlborough had introduced Harley and St. John into the ministry, tolerated secretary Hedges, and though he contributed to the exclusion of Rochester, Nottingham, Sir E. Seymour, and Jersey, yet he was unwilling to reduce the strength of his own party by admitting the whigs to a greater share of power. But even his discerning mind was deceived in his opinion on party politics; or rather he miscalculated, when he supposed that the leaders of the whigs would continue to support the government while they were held in a state of proscription, and excluded from all offices of trust; and he as little estimated their strength and resources. For while the tories were divided, the great body of the whigs formed a complete phalanx, impelled by the same spirit, and directed to the same end. As the constant supporters of the war, and increasing in consequence from its success, they looked forward to an increase of their numbers in the approaching election, and a gradual introduction of their chiefs into power. The leaders of this body were five peers, who are distinguished in the histories of the times by the name of the junta, and who were all men of superior talents, and had performed essential services to the nation, by their exertions in promoting the protestant succession, and their public services during the reign of William. These five peers were Somers, Wharton, Halifax, Orford, and Sunderland.

In his public capacity, lord Somers was a true patriot, if a true patriot ever existed. Hitherto he had not swerved a tittle from the principles of that revolution of which he was one of the great movers, and to which he sacrificed his private interests, and that honourable ambition of which no one is devoid. Of the real whigs, he was the only one who possessed the favour and affection of king William, as was proved by the extreme reluctance with which that monarch consented to his removal. He highly deserved this confidence by an attachment to the king's

person, peculiarly disinterested, an unshaken probity, and a devotion to the true principles of the constitution. In the great struggle which agitated the last year of William's reign, he proved his firmness and patriotism by assisting the king with his zealous advice and support; though he refused to accept an ostensible office, because he would not associate himself with the tories, who were retained in the administration. On the accession of Anne the mortification of being excluded from the privy council, and the unmerited slights which would have driven a man of less firmness and integrity into petulant opposition, produced no effect on his magnanimous mind; and he gave his zealous support to the measures which he deemed necessary for the welfare and independence of England, and for the consolidation of the revolution. Though constitutionally impetuous and irritable, he had so far conquered the frailties of nature, as to master the movements of his ardent spirit at the time that his mind was agitated with contending passions. But while he repressed the ebullitions of his natural temper, he retained all its warmth in his attachments to his friends and country; and he commanded the respect and esteem even of those who were most hostile to his principles. His elocution was flowing, perspicuous, and manly; his reasoning close and powerful. As a lawyer, he attentively studied the principles of the constitution; not with the confined views of professional research, but with the extensive comprehension and accurate discernment of a statesman. Nor were his acquirements confined to internal regulations; he was a master of foreign affairs, and profoundly versed in diplomatic business, as well as in the political interests of Europe. The respectable traits of his character were blended and softened down with those amiable propensities and pursuits which are calculated to adorn life, and illustrate high station. He possessed an exquisite taste for polite literature and the fine arts and for his attachment to science he was chosen president of the royal society. He carried his modesty and reserve almost to an extreme; for he was easy and flexible, and too often suffered his own better judgment to be biassed by

the violent counsels of his colleagues, who were far his inferiors in patriotism, disinterestedness, and information.

Somers entertained the highest respect for the great talents and services of Marlborough, whose military plans he supported with all his eloquence and interest. He rendered justice also to the financial talents and tried integrity of Godolphin; but regarded his want of firmness and decision with a feeling almost bordering on contempt. He was disgusted also with the domineering and captious spirit of the duchess, and while he approved her zeal in the whig cause, he lamented her imprudent and intemperate conduct towards her royal mistress, of which he foresaw the fatal effects.

Charles Montagu, lord Halifax, being descended in a direct line from the earl of Manchester, the distinction of his family brought him first into notice, and he increased this distinction by his literary talents, amiable manners, social qualities, and taste for literature. With these he united an accurate knowledge of finance, to which he directed his studies as a source of advancement, after he had obtained a seat in the house of commons. To his labours the country was indebted for the stability of paper credit, and the improvement of the coin.

Having raised himself to the office of first commissioner of the treasury, he was exposed to the incessant hostilities of the tories, and persecuted by them in the house of commons with unrelenting severity; but he was the Samson of his party, and repelled with unabated vigour the multiplied attacks of his political adversaries. Though firm and manly in debate, he was interested, timid, and versatile as a politician; and was not without reason accused of occasionally sacrificing his political tenets to his interest or fear. From this motive, he exchanged his place at the treasury board for the lucrative and permanent office of auditor of the exchequer, and he accepted a peerage to escape from the perpetual warfare of the house of commons. But in this hope he was disappointed, for he was impeached as a peer, and though he parried the attack, he was still exposed to incessant

warfare. In the upper house he found a more congenial situation, and a fitter theatre for the brilliance and elegance of his oratory. After relinquishing a responsible office for the sake of tranquillity or interest, his restless spirit was not satisfied. He was incessantly caballing with those who possessed the private favour of the queen; he was always craving for some situation, which he could hold with his post in the exchequer, and particularly anxious to obtain a diplomatic mission abroad. He carried his importunities to such a degree as to disgust Marlborough, who in his private letters complains of his restless and captious temper. This occasioned frequent bickerings, and indeed laid the foundation of a secret dislike in the mind of Halifax against Marlborough, which afterwards instigated the versatile peer to injure him by insidious accusations at the court of Hanover. He courted with unceasing assiduity the duchess of Marlborough, and regaled her with concerts and entertainments; but although his attentions were grateful to her vanity, and although he at first was admitted to her confidence, he soon irritated her jealous temper, and lost her esteem.

Lord Wharton has shared the fate of the most illustrious characters who have identified themselves with a particular party. He is eulogised by the whigs as one of the principal instruments of the revolution, and the paragon of political perfection. By the tories he is decried as a turbulent and restless demagogue, imbued with republicanism and infidelity; as hostile to the true principles of the monarchy, and no less hostile to the established church. Descended from an illustrious family in the north, he was eldest son and heir to Philip, lord Wharton. He was born and bred a dissenter, but conformed to the national worship, although he was still friendly to his former sect, and partial to its principles. His wife continued a rigid presbyterian, and a disciple of the celebrated Mr. Howe, a dissenting minister, who was distinguished for his eloquence, enthusiasm, and piety.

In his early career Wharton was a companion of Charles the second, and was led by the royal example and influence to share in the orgies of a licentious court. Still, however, his political principles remained uncontaminated, and amidst all the blandish-

ments of pleasure, he evinced such a decided attachment to constitutional freedom, that in 1677 he was sent with Buckingham and Shaftesbury to the Tower, for questioning the legality of the sitting parliament. Under James the second he became a still more strenuous opponent of popery and arbitrary power, and was one of the first gentlemen who joined the prince of Orange.

Next to Somers he was the most distinguished of that party which placed William and Mary on the throne. He was rewarded by the new sovereign with the place of comptroller of the household, but was never advanced to any political office; because William, however grateful for his services, and however conscious of his talents and consistency, was yet disgusted with his overbearing temper, and offended by his uniform antipathy to Robert earl of Sunderland, whom he persecuted with unceasing acrimony, till he forced him from office. Wharton was disappointed in various attempts to obtain the seals of secretary of state; but in spite of repeated slights and mortifications, he still retained his office in the household.

He was a bold, fluent, and manly debater, yet better calculated for the meridian of the lower, than for that of the upper house. His eloquence was coarse and popular; his attacks merciless, and his wit ready and poignant, but often degenerating into ribaldry, which induced Bolingbroke, in language equally coarse, to call him the scavenger of his party.* In his aversion to high church principles, he went beyond the free thinkers of the age; for he scoffed at religion itself, and made no concealment of his infidelity.

Though bold, ardent, and overbearing, he was skilled in the management of the passions, and calculated to shine in the tumult of elections and popular assemblies. On such occasions he could control or conceal his natural impetuosity, and with a wonderful address accommodate himself to the interests, feelings, and prejudices of those whom he wished to command.

* Correspondence.

At the accession of Anne, being ejected from his office as head of the household, and his place in the privy council, he did not imitate the disinterestedness of Somers, but sought to satisfy his disappointed ambition and avidity, by an opposition of the most violent kind. Indeed it is difficult to judge to what extremities his disgust and vengeance might have prompted him, had he not been restrained by the advice and representations of Somers, and the more considerable members of the party. Still, however, his natural temper continually broke forth, and we find him depicted in the letters of Marlborough, as well as in those from Maynwaring to the duchess, as insatiable in his demands, irascible in temper, turbulent and unmanageable in his political capacity, and even secretly caballing with the new favourites of the queen. These defects were more dangerous, because he possessed the confidence of the whigs, for his strenuous exertions in favour of the protestant succession, and his uniform opposition to the restoration of the Stuarts. He was now looking forward to the rank of an earl; but no increase of honours could sate his avidity, and he was no less craving for an office of profit and dignity. Knowing the queen's aversion to him in particular, and the reluctance of Marlborough and Godolphin to his promotion, he was determined to extort by force what he could not obtain by persuasion; and was anxious to break through the barriers of the cabinet, by obtruding some less obnoxious whig into office, that he with the other leaders might secure an opening for themselves.

Edward Russel, earl of Orford, the brother of the celebrated John lord Russel, was originally groom of the chamber to the duke of York, and in that situation seems to have formed an early friendship with Marlborough. He owed his rise and reputation more to the sufferings and merits of his illustrious family, to his professional skill, and to the share he took in the revolution, than to his superior talents as an orator, or statesman. In private life he was irritable and impetuous, blunt and overbearing; in public he was interested in character, and ambitious of distinction. Disgusted with the king for his neglect of the whigs, his resent-

ment threw him into the opposite extreme. He remonstrated with William for his severe treatment of Marlborough, and like him he entered into a correspondence with the exiled family, which proved a source of perpetual embarrassment. Notwithstanding this secret infidelity, he exalted his character by the victory off La Hogue; and was justly regarded as the person, who under Providence, the most contributed to effect and maintain the revolution. For this and subsequent services he was created earl of Orford. As he offended and alienated all parties by his grasping and impetuous spirit, he had been repeatedly raised to office and as repeatedly dismissed; but these partial possessions of power only contributed to increase his appetite for rule, and to give new force to his disgust with the government.

Of all the junta, Orford was perhaps at this time the most obnoxious to the queen; because in common with her aversion to his party, she regarded with peculiar jealousy, a nobleman whose professional talents, popularity, and personal views, rendered him the rival, and often the censor of the prince of Denmark in the management of the admiralty.

Notwithstanding his friendship and connections with Marlborough, his roughness and impetuosity occasionally alienated a nobleman, who was distinguished by contrary qualities; and in the correspondence between the two ministers, he is often depicted in the same unfavourable colours as Halifax and Wharton.

The character of Sunderland, the youngest of the junta, has been sufficiently delineated: we shall therefore only observe, that he was zealously attached to Somers, whose opinions he regarded as the dictates of an oracle.

These were the five chiefs who wielded the strength of the whig party. They were supported by the dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Newcastle, in the upper house, where they possessed a considerable majority; and in the lower house they found zealous advocates in Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, Cowper, attorney general, Smith, whom they afterwards raised to the office of Speaker, and Walpole who now began his long public career.

Indignant at the political anathema under which they had long

laboured, the whigs now began to exact that attention which they considered as due to their influence and services, and by dexterously availing themselves of the schism which had taken place among the tories, and the necessity which the ministers felt for their support, they at length forced the general and treasurer into a change of system. Accordingly at the very moment when addresses were heaped on Sir George Rooke, equalising him with the duke of Marlborough, his disfavour with the court was announced by his removal from his post at the head of the fleet. He was succeeded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, a popular officer and a whig; and Sir John Leake, with Sir George Byng, who had both distinguished themselves, as well in the whig cause as by their professional talents, were promoted to commands. Several whigs were introduced into the subordinate offices of government: among them we notice Mr. Walpole, who was appointed one of the council to prince George of Denmark, at the particular recommendation of Marlborough. Soon afterwards more of the party were nominated lord lieutenants of counties, and others were admitted into the privy council. But the greatest triumph was the removal of Buckingham, which had been approved by Marlborough in the preceding year, and had been retarded only by the resistance of the queen. The whigs had even extorted from the ministers a promise of dismissing Sir Nathan Wright from the office of lord keeper, and transferring the great seal to Mr. Cowper, a lawyer of tried integrity, and one of their ablest champions in the house of commons.

Inspired with new confidence by this success, they looked forward to the gradual introduction of their leaders into the higher offices of government. They did not therefore fail to take advantage of the troubled state of affairs in Scotland, and the anxiety which Godolphin felt, to effect an union of the two countries, as the only expedient which could obviate the dangers likely to arise from the act of security. This measure being naturally opposed by the numerous adherents of the exiled family, as well as by the high tories, its accomplishment could not be effected by the efforts of the moderate party alone, in whom

Marlborough and Godolphin had hitherto placed their chief confidence. Godolphin therefore had no alternative, but to purchase the support of the whigs by yielding to their demands, or to relinquish a measure on which the welfare of the country depended. They exulted in the critical predicament to which he was reduced, and Wharton coarsely declared, that they held the head of the lord treasurer in a bag.*

The peer, whose advancement they were most anxious to promote, was lord Sunderland, whose connection with Marlborough they considered as a peculiar claim to favour. They placed great reliance on the support of the duchess, whose zeal for her son in law was well known. With this view they had proposed him for the place of comptroller of the household† in the preceding year; and failing in their application, from the antipathy which the queen fostered against his person, they eagerly seized the first opportunity to bring him forward as a candidate for some other department.

They soon however discovered that they had calculated erroneously on the effect, which they expected the ties of relationship, and the importunities of the duchess, would produce in the mind of Marlborough; for he was not only unwilling to shock the prejudices of the queen, but was fully convinced that his son in law would prove an unfit member for that moderate system of government, on which he and Godolphin were anxious to act. Hence he firmly opposed his appointment to any high office of state, though assailed by the reproaches of the duchess, and pressed by the importunities of a party, whom he was so much interested to conciliate.

In this determination he quitted England. But soon after his

* Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 177.

† Mrs. Burnet, who on this as on other occasions, was the interpreter of their wishes, thus wrote to the duchess: "Nov. 10. I cannot forbear to wish lord Sunderland was remembered, and wonder why it is thought a wise conduct to gain men who have been enemies to government all along, and neglect to gain others, of ten times their sense and honesty; and allowing them to have been a little warm, it is more pardonable in a good cause than a bad, and when it is done for the sake of the public, and not for private interests or resentments."

departure, the death of the emperor Leopold rendered it necessary to depute an ambassador of rank and consequence to Vienna, to cement the political relations of the two countries. The whigs instantly redoubled their efforts to procure an office for Sunderland, which though no way connected with the home administration, they hoped to render a preparatory step to the secretaryship of state. They were warmly seconded by the duchess, and at length even by Godolphin, who considered such a concession as a proper recompense for their support; and Marlborough was finally obliged to yield to a claim, which he could no longer combat, without incurring the imputation of an ill founded and unnatural prejudice.

These feuds of the contending parties, and the cabals of their agents, continued to perplex the duke in the midst of his military operations; for to him an appeal was made, generally and individually, from the sovereign herself to the meanest candidate for office. The moderate tories, through the medium of Harley, deprecated the gradual encroachments of the whigs; while the latter recriminated, through the agency of Sunderland and the duchess. Godolphin recurred to him for consolation and advice, in his contentions with the rival chiefs, as well as in his frequent struggles against the antipathies of the sovereign. The queen herself also resorted to him, as to a servant of congenial sentiments and approved fidelity, and solicited his interposition to defend her prerogative, and rescue her from what she deemed personal degradation. Above all, the duchess expatiated on the ill rewarded zeal and steady patriotism of the whigs, and lavished her sarcastic reflections on his political infatuation, and imprudent partiality to his tory friends.

In these circumstances we find him constantly employed in parrying the suggestions of Sunderland, soothing the complaints of Harley, encouraging and tranquillising Godolphin, exhorting the queen to submit to the necessity of her affairs, and above all, in combating the arguments, and repelling the acrimonious taunts of the duchess.

In fact the sarcastic reflections of his wife made a deeper

impression on his sensitive mind, than all his other embarrassments; and in his correspondence with her we trace a perpetual struggle between his irritability and conjugal tenderness. Two extracts will sufficiently indicate the tone which occasionally prevailed in their epistolary intercourse.

“ *Meldert, August 3.*

“ I received your's of the 17th yesterday, in which you complain of my having writ a cold letter, which you think may be occasioned by one I had then received from you. It is most certain that upon many occasions I have the spleen, and am weary of my life; for my friends give me much more uneasiness than my enemies, as you may guess by a copy of a letter I have sent to my lord treasurer. But for you, my dearest life, I love you so well, and have placed all my happiness in ending my days with you, that I would venture ten thousand lives to preserve your good opinion. You sometimes use the expression of my tory friends. As I never will enter into party and faction, I beg you will be so kind and just to me, as to believe that I will have no friends but such as will support the queen and government.—Your's of the 13th, which had the draught of the house and gardens, I received but this day, the french having taken the postillion, but they sent the letters back unopened.—I hope some time this summer you will go down to Woodstock for three or four days, and that you will let me know if Mr. Wise be still of the opinion that he shall be able to make all the plantations this next season, which would be a great pleasure to me at my return, if I could see the walks in the park planted.”

“ *Corbais, August 24.*

“ I have this day received your's of the 5th and 6th from Tunbridge, as also one from lady Sunderland, which tells me that you are in good health, which I am extremely glad of; for I wish you all the happiness this world is capable of giving.—I have received the *Observator*, and am of your mind. When I differ from you it is not that I think those are in the right whom you say are always in the wrong; but it is that I would be glad not to enter into the unreasonable reasoning of either party, for I have trouble enough for

my little head, in the business which of necessity I must do here. I thank you for the piece of a letter you sent me, for I own to you that I have a very great desire to have that work of Woodstock finished; and if I can be so happy as to live some years in quietness there with my dear soul, I shall think myself fully recompensed for all the vexations and troubles I am now obliged to undergo. I can never regret too much the last disappointment; since I am every day more and more persuaded that we should have had good success, which must have put a good and speedy end to this war. I hope the Spa waters, which I intend to take the beginning of this next month, will do my eyes good, since I am persuaded it is the heat of my blood which has occasioned their being sore."

These letters lead us to notice an erroneous opinion which has been sanctioned by history. It has been generally asserted that Marlborough evinced the same weakness as Belisarius, in submitting to the government of his wife. It cannot indeed be denied that in domestic life he indulged her caprices; and that in conferring offices of more emolument than trust, he occasionally listened to her recommendation. But the whole series of his correspondence shews that she possessed no influence in political affairs of importance, and was suffered to take no share in those arrangements which give character to the administration of government. The whigs, whose interest she particularly claims the merit of promoting, were little indebted to her importunities, and owed their introduction to power to the fears of the treasurer, to their strength in parliament, and above all to the conviction of Marlborough, that the war could not be vigorously prosecuted without their support.

CHAPTER 33.

1705.

Marlborough arrives at the Hague—Difficulty in obtaining the consent of the dutch to his intended plan of operations—Obstacles derived from the circumstances of the court of Vienna, and the jealousy of the margrave of Baden—Death of the emperor Leopold, and accession of Joseph—Interview of Marlborough with the margrave of Baden at Rastadt—March of the troops to the Moselle.

NOTHING now remained to detain Marlborough in England; for the supplies had been granted at an early period of the session, and the military preparations were matured. He therefore embarked at Harwich on the 31st of March, in one of the royal yachts, under the protection of a squadron commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, and after a troublesome and dangerous passage, entered the mouth of the Meuse. He experienced considerable difficulty in ascending the river; several of the yachts falling among the sands. At length he entered an open boat, and after four hours labour against wind and tide, he reached the Brill towards midnight. Impatient to arrive at the Hague, he re-embarked at five in the morning, and soon effected the passage of the Meuse. He was, however, so fatigued by his exertions, that Cardonnel was commissioned to announce his arrival to secretary Harley, and he wrote only a few hasty lines to the duchess.*

“ *Hague, April 3-14.*

“ I have been so very sick at sea, that my blood is as hot as if I were in a fever, which makes my head ache extremely, so that I

* State Paper Office.

beg you will make my excuse to lord treasurer, for I can write to no body but my dear soul, whom I love above my life. I am now just going to bed, although I know I cannot sleep, yet I know it will do me good, so that you will excuse me for saying no more till next post."

His first business was to communicate to the States the plan for the ensuing campaign, which had been secretly concerted with prince Eugene at the siege of Landau, and approved by the cabinet in England. It was to invade France on the side of the Moselle, which was the least defensible part of the frontier, and to penetrate into Lorrain, the sovereign of which duchy was, to use Marlborough's own words, "heart and soul with the allies," and the inhabitants eager to take arms in behalf of the house of Austria. The final operations of the last campaign had been preparatory to this object. As Treves and Traerbach afforded secure places of arms, the magazines were to be there collected; and early in the spring the combined army, amounting to no less than 90,000 men, was to assemble between the Saar and the Moselle, and to commence the siege of Saar Louis, before the french could take the field. Marlborough, with the native and auxiliary troops in the pay of the maritime powers, was to penetrate along the Moselle, while the margrave of Baden with an austrian force and the contingents of the circles, was to act on the side of the Saar, and co-operate in the grand attack. The imperial ministers had solemnly engaged that their forces should be ready to take the field early in the spring, and similar promises were made by the german princes, to furnish the requisite horses and artillery.

From his recent success, Marlborough naturally conceived hopes of obtaining the immediate acquiescence of the dutch. But he found at this time the same weakness of government, the same discordance of views, and the same factious opposition as he had before experienced from the parties in Holland. Although eager to repair to the theatre of action, he was detained at the Hague, in combating the timid or frivolous objections of the dutch government; and his impatience breaks forth in his correspondence.

To lord Godolphin he observes :—
“ April 21. I cannot but say that almost all their business here is in great disorder, and their generals’ desire of keeping 50 battalions and 90 squadrons on the Meuse, is very unreasonable; for if this should be complied with, I should have on the Moselle but 60 battalions and 79 squadrons, to act offensively; and at the same time they do not so much as pretend to act otherwise than on the defensive. I am sure I shall never consent to what they desire; but how I shall be able to get the troops out of their country is the difficulty. I am of your opinion, that the face of every thing is much better this year than it was at this time last year, so that you may be sure I shall be very cautious; but by what I can observe, the french will endeavour, by putting themselves on the defensive in this country and in Alsace, to make themselves able to attack us on the Moselle. Our scotch recruits are come, so that we want now nothing but our two lieutenant-generals and my brother, who can have no excuse but a convoy, so that I beg you will get the prince’s council to lose no time in letting them have ten men of war.”

Harassed with this opposition, he at the same time feelingly describes to the duchess the uneasiness of his situation :—

“ I am like a sick body that turns from one part of the bed to the other; for I would fain begone from hence, in hopes to find more quiet in the army. God only knows what ease I may have when I come there.”

At length he announces with satisfaction the consent of the dutch government to his plan of operations, and his departure for the army.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ April 23-May 4. Since the last post I have had two of my dear soul’s letters, which I believe is the reason that I have none by my brother, whom I have not seen, but he came yesterday to Rotterdam, and is to follow me to Maestricht, where I shall be on Friday, being now going in a boat to Utrecht. These people here

have at last consented to most things I wished for. If I can have the same success with prince Louis, I hope with the blessing of God we may have a good campaign, which you think so necessary to prevent the malice of the tackers."

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"May 4. I am now in a boat going for Utrecht, having at last, I think, persuaded almost every body that it were to be wished that the english were at this time on the Moselle. However, to please M. Overkirk, I have consented that the english shall take their march by Maestricht, by which we shall lose three days. I shall be at Maestricht myself on Friday morning, which will be five days before the english can be there; and if that army will attempt any thing, I shall be very much pleased to stay five or six days and help them with the english. The enclosed from prince Louis of Baden I received by Estaffette yesterday; I send it that you may see what a miserable thing a german army is! By the care you took to have a convoy, my brother and all the officers are come over."

Marlborough had still greater obstacles to surmount in combating the tardy and interested policy of the court of Vienna. With an aged monarch in the close of life, the government itself was verging to decrepitude; the business was principally conducted by superannuated ministers, whose sole merit was a mechanical acquaintance with the routine of office, and whose combined efforts and chief attention were employed in combating the interest, and counteracting the grand schemes of prince Eugene. Too limited in their ideas to comprehend the military policy which was conceived by Marlborough and supported by Eugene, their views were confined to the affairs of Hungary. They wished to reserve the principal resources of the monarchy for the suppression of a rebellion which they considered as affecting its very vitals; and consequently not only laboured to diminish the force required for Germany, but proposed to send Eugene into Italy with an army

inefficient in strength, and destitute of the means of aggression. These weak and impolitic schemes roused the indignation of Eugene, who was anxious to introduce a system of action commensurate with the public danger, and he refused to take a share in civil or military business, unless more decisive measures were adopted. The aged emperor was confounded by this spirited determination; his feeble ministers shrunk from responsibility; and after a short but awful suspense the counsels of Eugene prevailed. The power of directing the political arrangements was consigned to the king of the Romans. Some of the ministers were dismissed, or their influence diminished, and Eugene placed at the head of the council of war, with such powers as gave him the controul of all military operations.*

This salutary change was, however, too late to be felt at the opening of the campaign, and Marlborough soon experienced the fatal effect of that lethargy which prevailed in the cabinet of Vienna, as well as of the jealousy which the princes of the empire now began to foster against the house of Austria.

An additional cause of disquietude was a misunderstanding between count Wratislaw and Mr. Stepney, which rose to so great a height, that the former withdrew his confidential communications from the duke, whom he suspected of betraying the secret of their private correspondence. Eugene, who was the friend of Wratislaw, warmly interfered in the dispute. During the frequent conferences at the siege of Landau, he frequently urged the propriety of recalling a minister so unwelcome at the court of Vienna, and now renewed the demand, accompanied with a formal complaint from the emperor, against his supposed partiality to the cause of the hungarian insurgents. As Marlborough placed the fullest confidence in Mr. Stepney, and as he was at the same time desirous to conciliate Wratislaw, from whose communications he had derived the utmost advantage, he laboured anxiously to sooth

* Letters from Mr. Stepney to secretary Harley—State Paper Office, February and March—and letter from count Wratislaw to the duke, March 18.

both parties; and though he could not effect a perfect reconciliation, he succeeded in softening their mutual jealousies, and prevailed on Eugene to withdraw his demand for the recall of the obnoxious envoy.*

A more difficult task yet remained, namely to conciliate the margrave of Baden, on whose zealous co-operation so much depended. But the anguish of wounded pride still rankled in the mind of this high spirited and captious prince, who was indignant at the superior confidence which was placed in Eugene; who deemed his fame eclipsed by the lustre which attended the successful career of Marlborough; and who conceived that he should himself incur the blame of failure, while his more fortunate colleague would monopolise the honour of success.

In consequence of the unequivocal reluctance which he manifested in forwarding the projected plan, Marlborough sent general Dopf, an officer high in the estimation of the States, to communicate his views, and obtain a specific promise of co-operation. The margrave, however, objecting to act with Marlborough, and proposing to head a separate army on the Rhine, count Lecheraine, the minister of the elector palatine, undertook the office of mediator; but his mission proved equally fruitless. On this disappointment, Marlborough applied to the court of Vienna for a specific order, requiring the margrave to co-operate in the intended invasion of France, and at the same time brigadier Cadogan was next employed on the delicate mission. In consequence of the injunctions given by the imperial court, Cadogan so far succeeded, that he brought back a promise from the margrave to act on the Saar or the Moselle, to bring with him 17 battalions and 34 squadrons, and a proposal for an interview at Creutznach to settle the operations of the campaign.

Meanwhile the british commander had proceeded on his route to Maestricht, and after assisting to organise the dutch army which

* Letter from prince Eugene to Marlborough, January 11, 1705.—Also, letters from count Wratislaw to the duke, in one of which he candidly confesses that his unusual reserve proceeded from the duke's partiality to the british envoy.

had taken the field, he sent forward the troops who were to act on the Moselle, and himself took the route to Coblenz. Here he employed a short interval, in accelerating the preparations for the intended campaign, and in stimulating the zeal of the german princes.

While he was magnificently entertained by the elector of Cologne, at Ehrenbreitstein, baron Forstner, counsellor of state to the margrave of Baden, arrived to announce that in consequence of inflammation, derived from the wound in his leg, which he had received at the battle of Schellenberg, his master could not attend the promised interview. He was at the same time charged with heavy complaints on the imperfect state of the military preparations, and the delay of the succours from Vienna.

The duke was too well acquainted with the temper of the margrave to mistake the nature of this message, and testifies his disappointment with a heavy heart to Godolphin and the duchess, May 6-17.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“Coblenz, May 6-17, 1705.

“My dearest soul, till I come to live with you I shall have nothing but vexation; for at my coming here, I received a letter from prince Louis that he is not well, so that he is afraid he shall not be able to meet me so soon as the 20th, and that it will be impossible for his troops to march so soon as he had promised me. This and other things makes me wish myself a much privater man than I am, so that I might depend upon myself, without being plagued with other people’s humours. I have neither time nor words to express how tenderly I love you.”

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Coblenz, May 6-17, 1705.

“I have but just time to acknowledge the favour of your’s of the 27th of the last month, and to return you thanks for your friendly and kind expression for the forwarding the building of Woodstock; for I own my heart is very much set upon the ending

my days quietly in that place. I was to have met prince Louis the 20th, at Creutznach, but at my arrival here, I received a letter to let me know he was not very well, and to beg that I would not come to Creutznach till I heard from him, which makes me very uneasy; for I intended to have been at Treves by the 24th at farthest. I shall stay here till the 19th, in hopes by that time to hear from prince Louis, who I am afraid is angry at some orders he has received from Vienna. If there be no other way of speaking with him, I shall be necessitated to go to his house at Rastadt; for let it cost me what pains it will, he must be put in humour if possible."

In this anxious moment of suspense, Marlborough received intelligence from Vienna of the death of the emperor, on the 5th of May, which was announced to him by the new sovereign, Joseph. After mentioning his concern at the loss of his father, he alludes to his great esteem for the merits and services, and his affection for the person of Marlborough; and in the anxiety, which he testified to give his deliverer a proof of his gratitude, he adds, "whatever your excellency has lost by his death, you will find fully compensated by me, for you have a double title to my regard; first, from your services; and secondly, I succeed by hereditary right to his throne and his regard for you."

To this letter, written in the language and style of the chancery, a flattering postscript in the french tongue was added by the emperor, in his own hand. "If," he said, "my affairs permitted me, I would do myself the pleasure of joining you at the army, to testify in person, the sentiments of my esteem and friendship. I have nevertheless, ordered the prince of Baden to act in concert with you on the Moselle, and I wish you a campaign as glorious as that of last year. Moreover I recommend to you my interests and those of the king of Spain, my brother, not doubting but you will always shew that zeal for the welfare of my house, which you have hitherto displayed."*

* Original letter of the emperor, dated Vienna, 9th May, 1705: and signed Josephus—
Letter also from prince Eugene.

The death of the emperor Leopold, appeared likely to relieve the duke from much difficulty in his transactions with the court of Vienna. The change from an aged, phlegmatic, and formal emperor, to a young and high-spirited prince, who had appreciated the merits of the duke at the siege of Landau, was naturally felt in every department of the state. The superannuated and formal ministers of the deceased monarch, lost their influence, and the interest of prince Eugene became now predominant.

The hopes which Marlborough must have drawn from this change, were, however, damped by the lukewarmness which he experienced on the part of the german princes, and particularly by the froward spirit of his intended colleague.

The margrave received the duke with outward marks of esteem and respect, and with all the honours due to his rank and celebrity. At the same time his behaviour proved that the complaint of his indisposition was much exaggerated; for the inflammation of his wound did not prevent him from attending his guest in a survey of the new palace and gardens, which he was preparing for his future residence, and he was gratified with the praises which Marlborough did not fail to bestow on the architecture of the building, and the disposition of the grounds. In a private conference, which they held to settle their military arrangements, the margrave promised the british commander to join him on the Saar, with the whole of his disposable force, and to begin his march without delay. But Marlborough augured ill of the result, from his repeated and heavy complaints of the deficiency of his army, and the anxiety which he manifested to devise pretexts for delay.

To Godolphin he wrote:—

“ Rastadt, May 11-22, 1705.

“ The prince of Baden not being well has given me the trouble of coming to this place. I am very much disappointed by the very little number of troops they can from hence send to the Moselle. All that prince Louis will promise is 20 battalions and 40 squadrons. But even of those I must expect for some time only 12 battalions

and 28 squadrons, which are to be at Treves by the 10th of the next month. This is so great a disappointment, that I have writ very pressingly to the emperor upon it. I think the less noise this makes is best; for it would too much encourage the french. When I come to Treves, where I shall be in four days, you shall know what posture we shall be in there. Having been on horseback all day, I am so tired that I can say no more. By the inclosed letter from the emperor, I hope he intends me more troops. You will be pleased to give the letter to lady Marlborough to keep for me."

Marlborough had also the mortification to learn that the austrian regiments were incomplete, because the most efficient corps had been dispatched to Italy or Hungary, and those destined to act on the Moselle wanted more than one third of their compliment, though represented as complete on the musters.* Having, however, made the best arrangements which circumstances would permit, and extorted from the margrave a new promise to begin his march on the 27th, he made an excursion to examine the lines of Stolhoffen. He then took leave of the margrave, and hastened to meet his troops, who were on their march to Treves.

These forces encountered in their progress unusual hardships. An eye witness observes: "After we had quitted Juliers, you never saw so wretched a country. The soil barren, mountainous, fruitful in nothing but iron, and the air strangely cold, as if it had been in the midst of winter. The towns have all the marks of poverty that french oppression or government can give; and to make the little accommodation an army could meet with in so wretched a country still less, there was not a soul to be seen in the villages, the peasants flying as we came, either into places of defence or to the woods, and conveying what they could, of the

* Letter from Cardonnel to Mr. Secretary Harley, May 22—State Paper Office.

little they had, along with them, which left us in want of every thing. In short, altogether made both officers and soldiers pass their time ill enough. I will only add, that the scots think an army in their highlands could shift better."*

* Hare's M S. account of the campaign in a series of letters.

CHAPTER 34.

1705.

Marlborough joins his army near Treves—Disappointed in his expectations from the german states—Preparations and plans of France—Villars appointed to the command of the army on the Moselle—His defensive position and arrangements on the heights of Sirk—Correspondence of Marlborough on his situation and disappointments—Movements of Villeroy against Overkirk—Capture of Huy and investment of Liege—Delays and equivocal conduct of prince Louis—Want of horses and requisites for the siege of Saar Louis—Scarcity of provisions and forage—Rapid return of Marlborough to the Meuse—Recovers Huy, and compels the french to retire behind their lines.

AFTER the unsatisfactory interview with the margrave, Marlborough hastened to Treves, where he expected to receive intelligence of the artillery, draught horses, and part of the contingents, which were to be furnished by the german states. He arrived on the 26th, at the moment when his troops were filing into their destined camp near Triersweiler. He found the auxiliaries who had wintered on the Moselle, posted in the vicinity of Consaarbruck; and after spending two days in reviewing the different corps, he ordered the troops who had marched from the Netherlands, to advance to Igel. His army was there collected in two divisions, which were separated by the Moselle.

To his chagrin and mortification, however, even the limited hopes which he had conceived of the co-operation of the german princes and States were totally frustrated. Not a single draught horse appeared; and instead of an army amounting at least to 80,000 men, he could scarcely muster 30,000, and these only british troops, or subsidiaries in the pay of the maritime powers. As the season

was extremely backward, and the scanty resources of the country had been exhausted by the enemy, he caused an accurate scrutiny to be made into the state of the magazines, on which the army was reduced to depend for its subsistence; but to his additional mortification, the superintendant, instead of rendering an account, fled to the enemy, and he discovered that not half the quantity of the expected supplies had been collected.

His letters written during this period of suspense and anxiety need no comment.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Tuesday, May 16-27, 1705.

“At my arrival here yesterday, I had the favour of two of your’s. I am to be on horseback all this day, so that I shall not be able to answer by this post the particulars of your’s, believing you will be more desirous to know the posture our army is in. I gave you an account from Manheim, that the army of prince Louis was in so miserable a condition that he could not spare more troops to act on the Moselle than 12 battalions and 28 squadrons at this time, and that they could not march till the 28th, so that they cannot join me until the 10th or 12th of next month. The troops of Prussia cannot be here much sooner, and the 7,000 palatines in the english and dutch pay are to be here by the 6th. By all this you will see we want a third of our foot, and almost half our horse, which makes it impossible for me as yet to march. However, for want of forage and provisions, I shall be necessitated to march before all these troops can join me, so that I have sent orders to the several commanders to hasten their march all that is possible.

“The unreasonable heats of the parties make me pity you with all my heart; but you must, as I do, in spite of all the vexations we meet, serve her majesty, and when this war is well ended, we then may think of enjoying some quiet. In all conditions I shall be ever most sincerely your’s, &c.”

“Treves, May 22-June 2, 1705.

“The detachment that is on its march from Alsace, will make

the marshal de Villars have a great many more battalions and squadrons than I shall have. However I do not apprehend his venturing a battle; but it will put him in a condition to act in such a manner as may make us want all sorts of provisions, which we ought to be more afraid of than fighting; for our men are in great heart, so that with the blessing of God we might expect good success. We have another *contre-temps*, for upon my giving orders to Vanderkaa, who is marched with the english from Holland, to take care of all that concerns Machado, to inform himself of the strength of our magazines for bread and forage, one Senterly, who has had the care of it all this winter, instead of giving him an account, is run away last Sunday, and we fear he is gone to the enemy. But I am but too sure that there is not near half the quantity in the stores that should have been, so that we are much more afraid of starving than of the enemy. But we have yesterday sent away expresses both to Coblentz and Mentz, to hasten with all speed corn or flour for one month, which we hope will give us time to replenish our magazines.

“ I shall be obliged to-morrow to pass the Saar, notwithstanding the number of troops that are not yet come to me; for we have no more hay, and on this side the river there is very little corn in the fields, and the season here is so backward that we can cut no grass. All these misfortunes make me very uneasy, but we must struggle as long as we can. This condition of ours is fit to be known but by very few; but in a short time it would be very happy for us if the marshal de Villars would venture a battle, for in all likelihood that would put us at ease.”

Unfortunately the preparations of the enemy were as mature and prompt as those of the allies were tardy and imperfect. The king of France instead of being astounded by the fatal blow which he received in the field of Blenheim, made unusual efforts to repair the disaster. During the close of the preceding year no means of redress or rigour had been neglected to tranquillise the Cevennes, and to suppress a commotion which not only threatened to spread into the very heart of the kingdom, but afforded an opening

to favour the aggressions of its foreign enemies. The agent employed on this occasion was no less a person than marshal Villars.

Such measures were also adopted to intercept the communication with the sea-coast, that the endeavours of the english fleet to furnish succours to the insurgents from the shore of the Mediterranean were frustrated: and even Marlborough, who was highly anxious to foment a commotion which diverted so large a portion of the enemy's force, considered all farther attempts as hopeless. The insurgents thus left to their fate, were unable to resist disciplined troops, led by so able a general; and partly by force, partly by address, the desultory hordes were dissipated, and the chiefs either reduced to accept the pardon of their sovereign, or to seek an asylum in foreign countries.

Relieved from these internal commotions, the king was enabled to redouble his efforts against his external enemies, and to bring efficient armies into the field, in every quarter of the theatre of war. The elector of Bavaria, assisted by Villeroy, was to act offensively in the Low Countries, with 75,000 men, as soon as Marlborough had marched to the Moselle; and in case of a reverse, the country was intersected with formidable lines, to check an invasion between the Scheldt and the Mehaigne. On the Upper Rhine, Marsin, with 30,000 men, was stationed to maintain the defensive, and to aid the efforts of the other armies, as either might be exposed to a superior force.

As the operations of the allies at the close of the preceding campaign, and the formation of magazines at Treves, indicated that the principal effort would be made on the Moselle, Villars, after his successful career in the Cevennes, was appointed to cover the frontier on that side, and to obstruct the siege of Saar Louis; but with positive orders not to risk an engagement, as a defeat would open so defenceless a part of the kingdom to an invading army. He had already taken the field, and engaged in some active skirmishes with the allied troops quartered near Treves; particularly in an attempt to obtain pos-

session of Saarbruck. After this failure he collected his troops at Sirk, as a strong defensive position for covering the broken country between the Moselle and the Saar.

Accordingly on the 3rd of July at two in the morning, the english and dutch troops moved without beat of drum, and traversed the Moselle, on bridges already prepared at Igel. Having effected a junction with the auxiliaries, the whole combined army passed the Saar at Consaarbruck, in two columns, the infantry leading the march. Marlborough himself advanced at the head of the right wing, which was principally composed of british troops. With this column he rapidly cleared the defiles of Tavernen and Onsdorf, following the course of the Roman causeway over the heights; while the second column passed through the valley watered by the Appach. Contrary, however, to his expectation, the enemy made no attempt to obstruct his advance, and on emerging into the more open ground towards Tettingen, he learned that a corps, which had been pushed in front of Sirk, was rapidly retreating. He reached his intended position about six in the evening, after an arduous march of eighteen miles, and drew up the advance of his cavalry behind the Appach, the enemy having some dismounted dragoons in the neighbouring village, and Villars himself, with a considerable corps, being posted in the plain on the opposite side near Kirsch. While the french detachment fell back to their main army, the allies took up their position, with their right at Perle, and their left at Ellendorff, where they bivouacked during the night, the duke establishing his quarters at Perle. The ensuing morning they made a slight advance in pitching their camp, the british troops being moved more to the right, in an oblique line facing the Moselle; and the duke changing his quarters to Elft, as a less exposed and more convenient situation. The army now occupied the same position which the french general had reconnoitred two days before, and with his characteristic presumption had observed to his generals, "Here is a fine place to meet an enemy; the best ground in the world to fight on a good opportunity."

The movements of Marlborough leaving no doubt of his resolu-

tion to risk an engagement, even with his inferior force, Villars withdrew to the celebrated position formed by the heights of Sirk * on the right of the Moselle, where his front was covered by a hollow way, and the abrupt banks of the rivulet which falls into the Moselle at Sirk. His centre was placed on the heights of Konigsberg; his left extended to the abbey of Rhetel, on the bank of the Moselle, and his right was flanked by an almost impervious wood. In his rear was broken ground, intersected by ravines and rivulets. Here he made such preparations, and formed such a division of his force, as seemed calculated to protect Luxembourg, Thionville, and Saar Louis. While by his position he covered Thionville, he opened communications through the broken country beyond the Moselle, to prevent an attempt on Luxembourg; and to secure Saar Louis, he formed abbats and cut roads through the woods of Haute Cerque, and detached advanced corps to Bourgesche and Bouzonville. He made also arrangements for taking up a position behind the Nied, where the woods had been cleared, and an intrenched camp formed during the preceding winter, and he threw a garrison of 6,000 men into Saar Louis, which was the principal object of attack.

But these dispositions, however able, would not have sufficed to prevent the siege of Saar Louis, had Marlborough been promptly seconded by his german allies. For his last bold and masterly movement had placed him in a position to anticipate the enemy on the Nied, as soon as the reinforcements and draft horses should arrive for the siege. In this situation he was joined by 4,000 horse, under the duke of Wirtemberg, and 7,000 palatines, in the british and dutch pay, making his army amount to 42,000 men. But as Villars had at the same time been

* The camp of Villars is well known in military history, by the appellation of the position of Sirk, from the neighbouring town. Marlborough calls it the camp of Rhetel, from the abbey of that name, near the Moselle, towards the left flank, and Villars that of Fronisberg or Konigsberg, from the eminence of that name which formed the center. It lies on the south west of Sirk, and its strength may be estimated from the plan. However impregnable this position is in itself, the movements of Marlborough proved that it would not cover Saar Louis without the risk of a battle.

strengthened by detachments of horse and foot, the french troops amounted to 55,000 men, and the relative proportion of both armies remained the same.*

Between his departure from Rastadt and his arrival on the Moselle, the duke daily received letters from the margrave, concerning the proposed march of the german auxiliaries, and his resolution to join the army without delay. But every letter contradicted the former: some troops had not quitted their cantonments; others had not taken the field; and his own departure was always suspended, in consequence of indisposition or other unavoidable causes. At length he announced his intention to march, and stated that he should reach Birkenfield on the 13th. Brigadier Cadogan was accordingly dispatched to meet him on the road; but on reaching Birkenfield, information arrived that the margrave had consigned the command to the count de Frise, and departed to Schlangenbad only a few hours before, for the purpose of drinking the waters.

A similar disappointment arose from the neglect of the neighbouring princes to furnish the draught horses. They indeed sent commissaries to Coblenz, to regulate the number and conditions; but after a long discussion the business was still left in suspense. To use the words of the journalist, "two things, on which all

* Nothing can be more false and exaggerated than the accounts of this part of the campaign given by the french writers. Nor is this extraordinary, when we consider that their information is principally drawn from the Memoires of Marshal Villars, whose letters abound in extravagant representations and empty vaunts. If it were necessary to enter into a refutation of the numerous falsities and gasconades of this able, though vain glorious general, we should find ample materials in this part of his narrative. We shall, therefore, only notice a few of the most glaring misrepresentations. He estimates the army of Marlborough at 95,000, instead of 42,000 men; and states, with the most perfect confidence, that it was composed of english, and dutch, and germans, of *all the provinces*, commanded by their princes in person, and in chief by the duke of Marlborough and PRINCE LOUIS. He declares that he threw up no entrenchments; and after leaving us to suppose that *he repeatedly offered battle, which was declined by his antagonist*, he dwells with the utmost complacency on the silence with which the allies decamped, as if fearing his pursuit. He concludes these gasconades with a remark in his customary style, to which no language can render justice but his own, "Ces gens là ont voulu m'avalier comme un grain de sel. Ils ont fini par nous croire de trop dure digestion."—Memoires de Villars, tom. 1, p. 372.—Histoire de Marlborough, tom. 2, p. 83.

depended, were the artillery horses, and the junction of prince Louis, things that were continually coming, but never came, and after a fortnight's expectation, seemed to be as far off, as if they never had been thought of."*

The correspondence of Marlborough will spare the necessity of a less animated and interesting narrative.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Camp at Elft, June 4.

"I marched so early yesterday morning that the right of the army camped that night in less than a quarter of a mile of Sirk. I believe our march was a surprise to the french; for upon our first appearing they drew their troops that were camped near Sirk, to their camp of Rhetel. If they would have made use of their superiority, they should have had all their troops together, and opposed us at our first coming out of the mountains. But I believe they did not expect the march, believing I would stay at Treves till I should be joined by more troops, which was so reasonable, that if there had been forage I should have staid for the 7,000 palatines that are to join me to-morrow. I dont expect prince Louis, with the 9,000 men he brings, till about ten days hence, and I have no certainty when the prussians will be with us. The french retiring upon our appearing has given great heart to our soldiers; but I think it would have been much happier for us if they had taken the resolution of venturing a battle, for we struggle here under many difficulties."

TO THE DUCHESS.

"Elft, June 1-12, 1705.

"We have two posts due from England, which makes me very impatient to hear from my dear soul, it being the greatest pleasure I have. Since my last I have not been very well, but I thank God, I am better, so that I shall go on horseback to day. I own

* Hare's Letters from Treves, on the Campaign of 1705.

to you that my sickness comes from fretting; for I have been disappointed in every thing that was promised me. I have had letters from all the children; but till I am in a little better humour I cannot write to them, so that you will be so good as to say something to them that are with you very kind from me, and that you will excuse me that I write no more this time, and I do from my heart and soul assure you that I am entirely your's."

TO PRINCE EUGENE.

" Elft, June 11, N. S.

"I have received the letter which your highness did me the honour to write to me on the 22nd, and am much afflicted on finding that troops and other preparations are wanting for the commencement of your operations. We, I am concerned to say, are scarcely in a better state. I took all the precautions in my power, that the troops should be assembled at the end of May; yet I am here without a single soldier, except those who are in the pay of England, and the States General. The few troops to be supplied by the prince of Baden, who do not exceed 10 battalions, will not arrive here in less than ten days, and some of the prussians will be still later. Nevertheless I was constrained for want of forage to decamp from Treves on the 3rd. As soon as the greater part of the troops had crossed the Moselle and Saar, I made a forced march of seven leagues, and offered battle to marshal Villars on the same day. Not being inclined to engage, he retired between Sirk and Thionville, where he was joined in the ensuing morning by the cavalry, and the 5th by the infantry of Alsace, and has since continued to entrench himself in his camp. I am so posted that by a slight movement, and without difficulty, I can place myself between the enemy and Saar Louis, the siege of which we propose to make as soon as we shall be ready. But I am in the same embarrassments as your highness, for want of waggons, and horses to draw the heavy artillery and ammunition from Traerbach; the neighbouring princes and states who are most interested to supply them, making many difficulties. From

this disappointment the enemy have leisure to commence their operations on the Meuse. They accordingly are attacking Huy and they will be soon before Liege. These movements have spread such a panic in Holland, that I am apprehensive lest the States should adopt resolutions that will mar our designs on this side, *which must* be attributed to the delays in the arrival of the german troops. Had they joined me in time, the enemy must have made a considerable detachment from the Netherlands to secure their army.”*

While the duke was detained in his intended operations by the tardiness of the germans, and the want of means to besiege Saar Louis, the french army, under Villeroy, made a sudden effort on the Meuse, captured Huy on the 1st of June, took Liege, and invested the citadel. A general panic prevailed throughout the United Provinces: the french partisans began to clamour for peace, and the friends of England dispatched the most pressing instances, requesting Marlborough immediately to quit the Moselle, and prevent the enemy from recovering the places on the Meuse. The clamour was instantly re-echoed by the disaffected in England; and there was ample cause to fear that so weak and popular a government as Holland, pressed on one side by the enemy, and on the other alarmed by the prospect of desertion, should be driven into an accommodation with France. In consequence of this application, he took the immediate resolution of pushing towards the scene of action in the Netherlands.

His presence indeed was highly necessary; for the situation of Overkirk was perilous in the extreme. Cooped up in the intrenched camp of St. Peter's hill, near Maestricht, with a force more than tripled by the enemy, he was reduced to witness the reduction of Huy, and the investment of the citadel of Liege, which was slenderly garrisoned, and in a weak state of defence. If the enemy succeeded in their enterprise, he had no alternative but to

* The original of this letter, which is principally in cypher, is preserved in the archives at Vienna.

risk the consequences of an attack, which might have proved fatal to his little army, or abandon the line of the Meuse, and leave them at liberty to extend their conquests in that quarter.

The delicate predicament in which his colleague was placed, only served to give energy to the resolutions of the british commander, and to call into action the resources of his vigorous and fertile genius. He therefore prepared to decamp from Sirk, with such precautions that the enemy should neither be enabled to obstruct his march, or anticipate his design, by pushing reinforcements to the Netherlands. He announces his intention in his correspondence from Elft, at the moment of his departure.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Elft, June 16, 1705.

“ I think every minute that I have a thousand things to say, but I am so disturbed by being disappointed of every thing that has been promised me, and that I should have, before I am able to do any thing considerable, that my head turns, so that when I sit down to write, the business of the army hinders me. But you may be assured that you are dearer to me than all the world besides. You will see, by my letter to lord treasurer, the reasons I have for undertaking the march I shall begin to-morrow. I want sleep and quiet; for till I have that, I cannot say I am well, nor do I believe I ever shall be at ease till I am with my dear life. If I had known beforehand what I must have endured by relying on the people of this country, no reasons should have persuaded me to have undertaken this campaign. I will, by the help of God, do my best, and then I must submit to what may happen. But it is impossible to be quiet and not complain, when there is all the probability imaginable for a glorious campaign, to see it all put in doubt by the negligence of princes, whose interest it is to help us with all they have.

“ This moment is come lieutenant-general Hompesch, from monsieur d’Overkirk, to let me know, that if I do not immediately help them they are undone, which only serves to shew the great apprehensions they are in; for it is impossible for me to send

troops to them sooner than I have already resolved ; but since they have so much fear at the army, I dread the consequences of it at the Hague. I wish my letters that I writ yesterday, were with them, for I then assured them I would venture every thing for their security. My dearest soul pity me and love me."

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

" Elft, June 16, 1705.

" The post does not go away till to-morrow, but my head and heart are so full, that I would ease myself by letting you know what is resolved. The deputies of the States in the army on the Meuse, have sent an express to me, to desire that 30 battalions of their's may be immediately sent to them. This joined with the want of forage, and no hopes of having the horses and carts in less than six weeks, for the drawing every thing to the siege, we have taken the resolution of leaving a sufficient number of troops at Treves, and marching with the rest to assist them on the Meuse. We shall leave the cannon and all other ammunition at Traerbach and Coblentz ; so that if the german princes will enable us to make a siege, we may return after we have put our friends on the Meuse at ease. I think this resolution was the only thing left for us to take, both for the saving of this army, as well as for the hindering the dutch from being frightened into a negotiation for peace. The true reasons of this whole matter cannot appear to the public, so that I do not doubt but there will be great numbers of censurers. I do intend to send to Vienna to acquaint the emperor with the truth of this whole matter. I shall also write to the king of Prussia, in hopes he will not make difficulty of letting his troops serve with prince Louis.

" I have for these last ten days been so troubled by the many disappointments I have had, that I think if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer, it would make an end of me. In short I am weary of my life."*

* For the account of the military operations on the Moselle, and the march to the Meuse, I have consulted the duke's letters—Hare's Epistolary Narrative, May 13, June 5, and

On the 17th of June at midnight, the allied army decamped from Elft, without beat of drum, in the midst of a heavy rain. A strong guard of cavalry was posted to protect the rear; but the enemy made no movement to molest their march, and at ten in the morning, after a night of excessive exertion, they reached their former position, near Consaarbruck. Here the commander halted a day to concert measures for the future operations, with the count de Frize, who like his master, the margrave of Baden, moved in a contrary direction, and declined an interview.

Accordingly, on the following day, Marlborough again broke up his camp, leaving 11 battalions and 11 squadrons of palatines and westphalians, under the palatine general d'Aubach, to protect Treves and Saarbruck. He at the same time dispatched orders for the german contingents to join prince Louis.

To relieve the anxiety of Overkirk, he sent general Hompesch express, to announce his approach, and prepare the arrangements for their junction. To facilitate the march, he formed his army into three columns. The first consisted of the artillery, with a strong escort; the second, of the foot, under his brother, general Churchill, which marched through Steffeld and Aln; and the third, of horse, which was led by himself through Bibrich, Pruyne, and Dryborn. The whole were to re-unite in the vicinity of Duren, a town in the duchy of Juliers.

On the second day, being apprised that Villars had sent a considerable detachment to the Netherlands, he slackened his march to alarm the french commander with the apprehension of his return to the Moselle, and ordered his brother to detach lord Orkney with 12,000 men to watch the movements of the enemy. Having thus succeeded in suspending the progress of the french detachment, he was no sooner apprised that Villeroy had been retarded in pushing the attack of Liege for want of artillery, than

July 30—Relation des raisons du duc de Marlborough pour quitter la Moselle et retourner à la Meuse, Lamberti, t. 3, p. 469—Milner's Journal of the Campaigns of Marlborough—Gazette—History of Europe, for May and June, 1705—Ledyard, vol. 1—and the other biographers of Marlborough—Memoires de Villars, t. 1, pp. 336, 375.

he hastened his own progress to save the place, and ordered lord Orkney to push forward with the utmost celerity. By this expedition his different columns united in the vicinity of Duren on the 25th. Here he had the satisfaction to learn, that his rapid advance had struck a panic into the enemy, who had relinquished their design on the citadel of Liege, withdrawn their artillery, and were falling back to Tongres. He therefore quitted his army, early in the morning of the 26th, and reached Maestricht at noon, to concert with Overkirk an offensive movement against the enemy in their retreat. Efficient arrangements were instantly made, for a speedy advance and junction of all the confederate forces. On the 2nd of July, while the troops of Marlborough traversed the Meuse near Viset, Overkirk decamped, and both armies directing their route to the same point, united in the vicinity of Haneff. But the presence of one man had changed the scene. The enemy so recently elate with the hopes of conquest, were no sooner apprised of the arrival of Marlborough at Maestricht, than they broke up from Tongres; and though superior in numbers, withdrew towards Montenacken, north of the Meuse. On the 4th, therefore, the confederates advanced from Haneff; but the enemy, instead of awaiting their approach, again precipitately retreated, and sought the protection of their lines, Villeroy establishing his head quarters at Mierdorp, and the elector drawing farther to the left, in the direction of Tirlemont. Accordingly, Marlborough posted his army between Fresin and Lens les Beguines, where he fixed his head-quarters, and Overkirk encamped near Brett, on the northern bank of the Meuse.

After this unavailing attempt to bring his antagonists to an engagement, the first object of the british commander was, to recover Huy, which interrupted the navigation of the Meuse. On the 6th, therefore, as soon as the artillery was ready, he detached general Schultz with a sufficient force for the siege; and to cover the operation, Overkirk the same day removed his camp to Vignamont.*

* Correspondence—Hare's Narrative—Milner—Ledyard—Brodrick—and the different biographers.

During the siege, Marlborough had time to reflect on his various disappointments. Indeed, to complete the series, he received the intelligence that d'Aubach, had been terrified by the approach of a small french detachment, and retired from Treves and Saarbruck, without the slightest opposition. He thus abandoned the conquests, of which the capture formed so brilliant a feature at the close of the last campaign, and the magazines which had been collected with so much anxiety. We cannot, therefore, wonder that from the time of Marlborough's departure from the Moselle to the present moment, his correspondence still breathes the same tone of anguish and despondency. His letters to the lord treasurer and the duchess, prove the acuteness of his feelings, and announce his resolution to withdraw from a command, in which his great services were marred by envy, cowardice, or treachery, and where he saw no other prospect, than fruitless care and unmerited disgrace. To add to his chagrin, he felt more deeply than they deserved, the censures which both parties in England lavished on the conduct of the campaign.

TO THE DUCHESS.

"Treves, June 7-18, 1705.

"I would not let this express go to Holland without writing two words to my dearest soul, though I am fitter to go to bed than to write. The foot begin their march to-morrow, and I shall follow with the horse the next day. The alarm is so great in Holland, that I am apprehensive they may be frightened, so as to hearken to a proposition of peace before I get thither, so that I make all the diligence imaginable. I received two days ago, a letter from prince Louis, to excuse his not coming to the army, his health not permitting it, so that he is gone to the waters. If we could have had what was absolutely necessary, I could have borne this disappointment. Pray press on my house and gardens; for I think I shall never stir from my own home, being very sensible that it is impossible to serve with any satisfaction, where it is in so many people's power to do mischief."

“Bibrich, June 21.

“My head and heart are so full of the disappointments I have met with in this country, that I do from my soul wish to be out of this troublesome business; for I see but too plainly that the jealousy of prince Louis, and the backwardness of the german princes will always hinder us from succeeding here, which is the most sensible part in which we might do the most hurt to France.”

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Dryborn, June 13-24.

“*** I beg you will give my humble duty to the queen, and assure her that nothing but my gratitude to her could oblige me to serve her after the disappointments I have met with in Germany, for nothing has been performed that was promised; and to add to this, they write to me from England, that the tackers and all their friends are glad of the disappointments I meet with, saying that if I had success this year like the last, the constitution of England would be ruined. As I have no other ambition but that of serving well her majesty, and being thought what I am, a good Englishman, this vile, enormous faction of theirs vexes me so much, that I hope the queen will after this campaign, give me leave to retire, and end my days in praying for her prosperity, and making my own peace with God. At the same time, I beg you will assure her majesty, that if she should ever have occasion for my service, I should, even at a moment's warning, not only sacrifice my own quiet, but all that I have in this world. I beg you will not oppose this, thinking it may proceed at this time from the spleen: I do assure you it does not, but is from the base ingratitude of my countrymen. I am doing all I can to get time enough to save the citadel of Liege, having marched 9 leagues this day.”

TO THE DUCHESS.

“Maestricht, June 18-29.

“I had the happiness this morning of receiving your kind letter

of the 8th, and in return would venture my life with pleasure to make you happy. For myself I am extremely uneasy at the disappointments I have met with ; for it is most certain the Moselle is the place where we might have done the french most hurt. I could wish, with all my heart, that 205 (prince Eugene) were in 206 (prince Louis's) employment, but not by any action of mine. I am at this moment so resigned, I leave all punishment to God ; and I shall, as soon as I can, retire, assuring you I have no ambition so great as that of deserving your love, and that the queen would be persuaded no other consideration should make me desire her leave to retire, but that I see very plainly the negligence here abroad, and the malice of parties at home, make me incapable of doing her any service. I am sure you are so just and kind to me as to believe, that during this campaign I shall take all occasion of doing service to the queen and public, and after that you will not blame me if I am desirous to live in quiet ; for if I shall be obliged to continue as I am, my days must be very short. I am wasted to nothing, having perpetual vexations, fearing the world may blame me for other people's faults."

" *Maestricht, July 1.*

* * * " I march to-morrow, and hope the cannon will go from hence the next day. When we have Huy, the Lord knows what we shall do next ; for I am afraid the french will avoid all occasions of letting us be of the same side of the lines with them."

His friends in England, who knew that his influence could alone preserve the confederacy against France, that his efforts alone could produce a stable peace ; and that his high reputation could alone overawe the contending factions at home, urged him to struggle with his difficulties, and not from a momentary disgust or disappointment, to mar the great work of which he had already laid the foundations, for establishing the independence of Europe and the protestant succession in England.

From every court of Europe the duke received sincere testimonies of condolence for his numerous disappointments, accompanied with marks of indignation against the margrave of

Baden, to whose supineness or jealousy the failure was principally attributed. But from none was he greeted with stronger expressions of regret, and higher confidence in his skill, zeal, and abilities, than from that of Vienna. His friends in England were not wanting in offices of consolation, and the queen in particular testified her sympathy and concern, in a manner no less gracious than affectionate.

“ Windsor, June 12-21, 1705.

“ I am very sorry to find by your three last letters to my lord treasurer, that you have met with so much vexation and uneasiness ; but I hope by this time it is all over. I believe the last resolution you have taken is best, and if you should not succeed in what you are now going about, I do not doubt but something or other will happen to make you very well satisfied with yourself before this campaign is at an end, and I fancy all reasonable people will be so too. Whatever fortune may attend you, at least I shall, being very sure nothing will be wanting on your part. I do not doubt but you will have an account of all the disagreeable things that happen every day in Scotland, and therefore will not mention any particulars, only complain of my misfortune to be obliged by the circumstances of the times we live in, to do all the unjust, unreasonable things those strange people desire, which gives me more uneasiness than you can imagine. As for what passes I will not give you an account, knowing you have it from other hands. I wish you may find the restless spirits of both parties quiet when you come back, but I mightily fear it ; every thing, in my opinion, having a melancholy prospect. I pray God send you good success, make you easy in every thing, and continue you under his gracious protection, as he has hitherto done, that your friends may have the satisfaction of seeing you in England again in health, which nobody I am sure will desire more sincerely than your humble servant.

“ The prince desires me to give his service to you, and assure you that he is extremely concerned that you have been in so much uneasiness.

“ I am ashamed to send such a strange scrawl, but I have not time to write it over again, which I hope will make my excuse”

Even this consolatory letter made but little impression, and he still maintained the resolution which he so often expressed, of withdrawing from the embarrassments of his great, but uneasy situation.

“ *Lens les Beguines, July 16-27, 1705.*”

“ Madam ;

“ Your majesty’s letter of the 12th is a fresh instance of your goodness and partiality for your dutiful servant, who would with pleasure venture ten thousand lives ; if he had them, to make you easy and happy.

“ Your majesty will have known my desire by lord treasurer, that after this campaign I might with your good liking end my days with some quiet. I beg your majesty will believe that in what condition soever I may be, I shall be ready at all times to sacrifice all that is dear to me for your service ; but I think this retirement of mine is not only necessary for me, but also good for you ; for as my principle is, that I would not have your majesty in either of the parties’ hands, so I have them both my enemies, which must be a weight to your business. When I shall live under your protection and not meddle, neither party will then have envy or malice to me, so that I shall be able to serve you in parliament, which I shall do with all my heart. Since I left England, I have had no account of the affairs of Scotland ; but by what I know of those people, I can easily believe they are very unreasonable.

“ I had by the last post from lord treasurer, a list of the new parliament, by which I find there are enough of the tackers and their adherents to stir every thing that may be uneasy to your majesty and government. To prevent which, I think your majesty should advise with lord treasurer what encouragement may be proper to give the whigs, that they may look upon it as their own concern early to beat down and oppose all proposals of that sort before they come to any height ; for I am afraid your nearest allies

on this side are so desirous of getting out of this war, that if they can have any handle to say that the sessions is like to meet with any difficulties, they will be sure to make use of that argument to oblige England to such a peace as may be desirable for them, though it will be inconvenient or unsafe for your majesty.

“ By the vexation and trouble I undergo, I find a daily decay, which may deprive me of the honour of seeing your majesty any more, which thought makes me take the liberty to beg of your majesty, that for your own sake and the happiness of your kingdoms, you will never suffer any body to do lord treasurer an ill office. For besides his integrity for your service, his temper and abilities are such, that he is the only man in England capable of giving such advice as may keep you out of the hands of both parties, which may at last make you happy, if quietness can be had in a country where there is so much faction. I am with the greatest respect.”

His concern and vexation, however, did not damp his ardent zeal for the cause of England and of Europe, nor repress his wonted energies. On the contrary, he redoubled his efforts to restore the lustre of the confederate arms, which had been sullied by the faults and misconduct of others. He found the greatest consolation, as well in the bustle of action, as in the arrangement of his great designs, and in the hope that he should vindicate his military fame from unmerited obloquy.



Reference,

- A. Order of March of the Allies.
- B. Posts of the Enemy.
- C. Position taken by the Allies, after having forced the Lines, at Neerhespen, Overhespen, Wang & Elixheim.
- D. Advance of the Enemy, which is driven back by the 5. Batt^{ns} posted in the Hollow way.
- E. Troops of the Enemy, from their Right, which are charged by the Allies, & retire on Jodoigne.
- F. Position of the Allies after the Battle.
- G. *D^o* *d^o* on the 18. July.
- H. Position of the Enemy, on the 18. July.

CHAPTER 36.

1705.

Surrender of Huy—Marlborough forms the plan of forcing the french lines—His skilful manœuvres on this occasion—Forces the lines near Heilisheim, and defeats the enemy—Obtains possession of Tirlemont, Diest, and Aerschot—Drives the enemy beyond the Dyle, and advances to the suburbs of Louvain—Obstacles to his farther progress, and unjust censures on his conduct—Foiled in his attempt to pass the Dyle, by the opposition of the dutch deputies and generals—Correspondence.

ON the 11th Huy capitulated, and on the ensuing day the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war, were conducted to Maestricht. The troops of general Schultz were immediately employed in levelling the approaches, and repairing the works of the place, under the direction of Overkirk.

Conscious that the enemy would not venture to risk an engagement, and disdaining to spend the season of action in defensive warfare, Marlborough formed the design of forcing the lines, on which they confidently placed their reliance, and carrying the war into the heart of Brabant.

The construction of this formidable barrier, which was partly natural and partly artificial, had employed the space of no less than three years. It commenced at Marché aux Dames, on the Meuse, to the east of Namur, passed by Gerbise to Wasseigue on the Mehaigne, and from thence stretching to the Little Gheet, followed the left bank to Leuwe, leaving Hanut on the east, and Tirlemont on the west. Between Leuwe and Aerschot, the Great Gheet and the Demer formed a natural defence, and from Aerschot ran a new series of entrenchments to Antwerp. On the flanks were the two fortresses of Namur and Antwerp, and in the interval were numerous fortified posts, particularly Leuwe, Diest,

Sichem, Aerschot, and Lierre. The french army, amounting to 70,000 men, was posted in such a manner as to draw the utmost advantage from this extraordinary effort of skill and labour. Villeroy, with the main body, continued his head-quarters at Mierdorp, and the rest of the troops were disposed on different parts of the line, between the Great and Little Gheet, in situations from whence they could most readily assemble in force, on the points threatened with an attack.

To pass a barrier, strengthened with all the resources of art, covered by rivers and marshes, and defended by an army superior in numbers, was an enterprise of the boldest and most critical kind; and Marlborough, therefore, employed all the powers of his inventive genius, to distract the attention, and baffle the combinations of the enemy.

The point which he selected for his intended attack, was between Leuwe and Heilisheim, where the abrupt and slippery banks of the Little Gheet, combined with the artificial defences, seemed to present a double obstacle to the enterprises of an enemy. During the short siege of Huy, he employed the most effectual means to ascertain the state of the lines, and the disposition of the hostile army. But though superior to the military prejudices of the age, which regarded these defences as impregnable, his enterprising spirit was shackled by the nature of his command, and the perverseness of those with whom he was associated. He was to preserve that secrecy which is the soul of action, and yet to obtain the consent of a jealous and timid government, to an enterprise of which he could not disclose the circumstances or extent. But the confidence placed in his military skill obviated the difficulties which would have frustrated the designs of a general less able to command respect. As early as the first of July, he sent baron Hompesch to the Hague, and obtained such powers as he deemed necessary for the execution of the enterprise. Having thus succeeded in his application to the government, he imparted his plan in confidence to Overkirk alone, and entreated him to concur in the design, by leading the dutch across the Mehaigne. The object of this movement was twofold, to relieve himself from

the cavils of the factious generals, till the blow was struck, and to draw the attention of the enemy to the south of the Mehaigne, which being the weakest part of the lines, was supposed to be most liable to attack. Overkirk, however desirous to follow these instructions, could not venture to take upon himself the responsibility of so dangerous a movement as the passage of the Mehaigne, which might have exposed him to the attack of a superior force before Marlborough could advance to his aid. Hence a council of war was held, and the proposal was submitted to the generals. It was however violently censured by Slangenberg and his party; but being as warmly supported by Overkirk, Noyelles, and others, all objections were overruled, and a resolution taken to hazard the attempt.

During these arrangements, the solicitude of the commander was remarked by the troops; but though all anticipated some great design, none could divine the object. Rumours were circulated of a march to the Rhine or the Moselle, and the troops employed at the siege of Huy, were not ordered to join till the last moment.

The preparations being matured, Overkirk, early in the morning of the 17th, crossed the Mehaigne, and advanced on Bourdine; and while he sent forth detachments to the very trench of the lines between Meffle and Namur,* Marlborough made a slight movement to the left, as if to co-operate in the threatened attack, on the north of the Mehaigne. This feint produced a due effect; Villeroy drew the troops from the other parts of the lines towards his head quarters, and no less than 40,000 men were collected in the vicinity of Mierdorp, and round the sources of the Little Gheet.

At the moment when these different movements baffled conjecture, the troops who had been employed in the siege of Huy, rejoined the army. To these others were added, forming a vanguard of 20 battalions and 38 squadrons, which were privately

* Propositions sent to Overkirk, July 13, with his replies.

ordered to assemble before the cavalry of the right wing, and placed under the command of the count de Noyelles, whose local knowledge and enterprising spirit rendered him the fittest instrument for so daring a design. With him were associated generals Schultz and Ingolsby, and the cavalry was commanded by general Lumley, who had signalised his skill and bravery at the battle of Blenheim. In this disposition the same precautions were observed as in all the preceding. The troops were acquainted with their march only a few hours beforehand. The different corps composing the detachment were unknown to each other; and as the collection of fascines would have pointed out the object of attack, every trooper was ordered to provide himself with a small truss of forage, as if the design was merely a rapid march. The tools and other instruments were provided, and the heavy baggage sent to the rear. All the preparations being matured, the signal was given at eight, and the detachment began its march, leaving Cortes, Montenachen, and Tron, on the right, and Avernas, Ratshoven, and Neer Wenden to the left, towards the villages of Helixem and Neer Hespen, on the Little Gheet, which the vigilant commander had found to be most weakly guarded, and where the angle, formed by the Great and Little Gheet, afforded an excellent defensive position subsequent to the passage. An hour afterwards, the army of Marlborough followed in two columns. At the same instant Overkirk repassed the Mehaigne, over twelve pontoon bridges, which had been prepared in the interval, and connected his vanguard with the rear of Marlborough's army.

During the darkness a momentary confusion prevailed; but on the approach of dawn the troops regained their order, and at four the heads of the columns approached the french works. At this moment a thick fog arose and concealed the movements of the army. Favoured by this temporary obscurity, general Schultz cleared the two villages of Neer Wenden and Neer Hespen; another body of three battalions obtained possession of the bridge and village of Helixem; and a third carried the castle of Wange, which commanded a passage over the Little Gheet. They instantly began to construct bridges across the stream; but the

ardour of the advancing troops could not brook this necessary delay. Rushing through the inclosures and marshy ground, they traversed the Gheet in spite of its steep and slippery banks, and crowded across the line, though covered by a deep trench. In a few minutes their numbers so rapidly increased, that a french detachment of dragoons posted at Oostmal, were struck with a panic and retired.

The alarm was now spread, and while the allied troops were forcing their way over all obstacles, a detachment of the enemy, commanded by the marquis d'Allegre, consisting of 20 battalions and 50 squadrons, appeared on the higher grounds near Oostmal, and stretching into order of battle, opened a heavy cannonade from eight pieces of artillery. Fortunately the hollow way leading from Heilisheim to Tirlemont, lay in their front, and retarded their advance. Marlborough, who had passed with the first squadrons, saw the necessity of an immediate effort, and with his characteristic decision, led forward a part of the horse, and broke the enemy by an impetuous charge. They, however, again rallied, and renewing the conflict with increasing ardour, drove back the allied cavalry. In this momentous struggle the duke himself was exposed to the utmost danger. Being on the flank, he was separated from his troops, with only a trumpeter and a servant, and surrounded by the enemy. A french or bavarian officer struck at him with his sword, but in the effort fell from his horse, and was instantly seized by the trumpeter. The allied forces were exasperated by this momentary repulse, and still more animated by the peril of their beloved chief. They recovered their order, and returned to the charge with irresistible force. The french cavalry were routed and dispersed; the infantry made a hasty retreat; and the allies were left undisputed masters of the lines. Meanwhile the dutch troops approached, and united with those of Marlborough, though too late to take a share in the enterprise.

Villeroy and the elector were disconcerted by the retrograde movement of Overkirk, and spent an anxious night in momentary expectation of an attack. Apprised in the morning that the

storm had burst on the very point which they had almost denuded of troops, from a confidence in its strength and distance, they mounted on horseback, and giving orders for the foot to move, hurried forward with all the cavalry they could collect. Arriving near the scene of conflict, they saw that the fatal blow was struck, and no resource remained but a precipitate retreat. They availed themselves of the defiles, with which the country is intersected, to withdraw their scattered troops, traversed the Great Gheet in confusion, near Judoigne, and making a forced march, their vanguard reached the suburbs of Louvain at eight in the evening. Unwilling to expose themselves to the attacks of an antagonist, whose enterprising spirit they had learnt to dread, they gave no repose to their harassed troops, but spent the whole night in passing the Dyle, and did not deem themselves in safety, till they had broken down the bridges, and established themselves behind that river, with their left protected by the cannon of Louvain.

The duke was anxious to press on the enemy, to profit by their confusion and dismay, and by anticipating them in the position of Parc near Louvain, to frustrate their design of taking refuge behind the Dyle. To those who complimented him on his exploit, he replied, with a smile, "All is well, but much is yet to be done." He was however thwarted by the opposition of the dutch generals, who expatiated on the fatigue of the troops, after so long and toilsome march. At length, with much reluctance, he yielded to their instances, and established his camp in the vicinity of Tirlemont, which being garrisoned by no more than a single regiment, surrendered on the first summons, and the example was followed by Diest and Aerschot. The next day Marlborough approached Louvain, and encamped between Corbeck Overloo, and the abbey of Vlierbeck, where he fixed his head quarters.

As this conflict was rather a skirmish than a regular battle, the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was inconsiderable, but many officers of distinction were captured, and 1,200 prisoners surprised the ensuing day. Many trophies fell into the hands of the confederates, among which were several standards, belonging

to the troops of Bavaria and Cologne, inscribed with the most pompous mottos.*

Success brought with it the usual attendants, exultation, health, and confidence; and the gratifying attachment which the veterans, whom the british general had before led to victory, manifested to his person in the very heat of battle, appears to have made a deep impression on his feeling and magnanimous mind. We cannot express his change of sentiment in warmer language than his own.

TO SECRETARY HARLEY.

"Camp at Tirlemont, July 18, 1705."

"Ever since I found myself obliged to quit the Moselle, I have spared no pains to lay a scheme for attacking the lines.

"Being informed that the posts of Hespen and Helixem, were the most neglected, I ordered M. Overkirk to pass the Mehaigne yesterday with his army, and to advance towards the lines, to give the enemy some jealousy, that they might draw their troops that way, and as soon as the day began to shut in, I ordered a detachment of 20 battalions and 30 squadrons, under the command of Monsieur Schultz, and lieutenant-general Ingolsby, to advance towards those parts, which were three great leagues from our camp. At ten at night I followed with the army, having given orders to Overkirk to march likewise in order to join us. By break of day the detachment forced the passage with little opposition, and advanced with so much diligence, that three regiments of dragoons, who were not encamped, were not in time to oppose them. Immediately monsieur d'Allegre appearing with a great army of horse, computed at 50 squadrons and 20 battalions, advanced with great resolution, but * * * * *

* * * we attacked them, and after a short dispute of ten hours, he was obliged to retire."

* On this subject the french biographer justly remarks: "It is easier to invent fine mottos than to perform great actions; to mark inscriptions on banners than to defend them."—Memoires de Marlborough, t. 2, p. 106.

TO THE DUCHESS.

“ Tirlemont, July 7-18, 1705.

“ My dearest soul, this bearer, Durel, will acquaint you with the blessing God has been pleased to give me; for I have this morning forced the enemy's lines, and beaten a good part of their army, taken their cannon, two lieutenant-generals, and two major-generals, and a great many of their officers, besides standards and colours, of all which I shall have a perfect account to-morrow. It is impossible to say too much good of the troops that were with me, for never men fought better. Having marched all night, and taken a good deal of pains this day, my blood is so hot that I can hardly hold my pen; so that you will, my dearest life, excuse me if I say no more, but that I would not let you know my design of attacking the lines by the last post, fearing it might give you uneasiness; and now, my dearest soul, my heart is so full of joy for this good success, that should I write more I should say a great many follies.”

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Tirlemont, July 7-18, 1705.

After congratulating him on the successful attack against the french lines, he proceeds:

“ As I had in this action no troops with me but such as I brought from the Moselle, I believe the french will not care to fight with them again. This bearer will tell you that Monsieur Overkirk's army was not in the lines, till the whole action was over, and that I was forced to cheat them into this action; for they did not believe I would attack the lines, they being positive that the enemy were stronger than they were. But this is what must not be spoke of, for it would anger the dutch, with whom, I think, at this time, I am very well, for their deputies made me the compliment this afternoon, that if I had not been here the lines would not have been forced. I intend to march to-morrow towards Louvain, by which march I shall see what Monsieur de Villeroy will do. This day has given me a great deal of pleasure; however I think 500 pounds is enough for the bearer.

"I beg you will make my compliments to the queen, and assure her that I have infinite pleasure in thinking this action may do good to her service."

TO THE DUCHESS.

Camp near Louvain, July 9-20.

"My lord Sunderland intended to have left the Hague as this day, but our advancing into this country as we do, I believe will make him stay some days longer, to know where he may join us. I was so pleased when I writ my last, that if I had writ on, I should have used expressions, which afterwards I should have been ashamed of. The kindness of the troops to me had transported me, for I had none in this last action, but such as were with me last year; for M. Overkirk's army did not come till an hour after all was over. This was not their fault, for they could not come sooner; but this gave occasion to the troops with me to make me very kind expressions, even in the heat of the action, which I own to you gives me great pleasure, and makes me resolve to endure any thing for their sakes. One great good of this action is, that I am very confident it will encourage the dutch to that degree, that they will go on cheerfully with the war, now that they see the lines are no bar to them; and that they may hope for farther conquests. You may be sure my dearest soul, that I shall endeavour to carry this as far as it is possible, in hopes to make a speedy end of the war, so that I might enjoy your dear company in quietness.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Camp near Louvain, July 9-20.

"Before this comes, I hope col. Durel is got safe to you with the good news of the success we had last Saturday. The french made such haste to get over this river yesterday, that I took above 1,000 prisoners, which I have this day sent towards Maestricht. I have no account as yet, what number M. d'Overkirk's army has taken, they coming very late into their camp. I think it is for the service to continue in two armies; for mine, that is much the biggest,

does whatever I will have them; and the others have got the ill custom of doing nothing but by a council of war.

“The marshal de Villeroy is camped on the other side of Louvain, so that till we can make him march from thence, we cannot have the conveniency of this town, which we must have to make our magazines; for we are yet obliged to have all our bread from Liege, which is 14 leagues from hence. This action will certainly oblige the french to send more troops hither from Alsace; so that if prince Louis can be persuaded to act offensively, he has a very fair opportunity. We hope to have our bread tomorrow, and then the next day attempt the passage of this river; and if we get on the same side with the enemy, I do not doubt but we shall oblige them to quit this place, where we must make our magazines for bread. Our affairs here are so changed, that we now talk of nothing but forcing the enemy wherever we meet them.

“I have this minute received the inclosed.* By the superscription you will see he owns her majesty: it is the first time he has done it, which makes me think he would be glad of any occasion to make his court.”

We present another letter written to the queen, in reply to one from her majesty, deprecating his resolution of retiring. It displays the same tone of reviving confidence, and the warmest expressions of gratitude for her kindness and condescension.

“July 23, 1705.—Madam; I have had the honour of your majesty’s letter of the 3rd, in which you are so extremely good, that I want words to express the sense I have of it; and as I am sure I would not only venture my life, but also sacrifice my quiet for you, so I beg you will believe that I shall never think myself master of taking any resolution, till I have first obtained your majesty’s leave. By my letters I have had from Holland, I find the dutch are so pleased with the success we have had, that I believe they will not now hearken to any proposals of peace,

* This refers to a letter from the king of France, or from his minister, Torcy.

without first acquainting your majesty. — I do also hope that it may have some effect on the parties in England, for the advantage of your affairs, which I pray God may prosper as your own heart can desire, and then I am sure England must be happy.”

Like Cæsar, and all other illustrious commanders, Marlborough disdained to spare his own person while he exposed the lives of his troops. His recent escape had awakened the alarms of the duchess; and we give his manly reply to one of her letters, in which she had manifested the natural feeling of a wife.

“ *Meldert, August 6, 1705.*”

“ My dearest soul I love you so well, and have set my heart so entirely on ending my days in quiet with you, that you may be so far at ease, as to be assured that I never venture myself but when I think the service of my queen and country requires it. Besides I am now at an age when I find no heat in my blood that gives me temptation to expose myself out of vanity; but as I would deserve and keep the kindness of this army, I must let them see that when I expose them, I would not exempt myself.”

“ I have heard what you write, that prince Louis had some thoughts of putting out a manifesto for justifying his proceedings, but I think he will not do it. If he should, by his letters to me, as well as in justice, he will not be able, nor will he endeavour to lay any fault on me; for he is very desirous I should not be angry with him.”

Among the correspondence on this occasion, we find a letter from Harley, which merits attention, as coming from a minister who could afterwards sanction the base insinuations of Swift and Mrs. Manley, the authoress of the *New Atalantis*, against Marlborough's want of courage.* We present it with no other comment than the infamous passage of Swift.

* “ I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical; but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself.”

“ July 17-28, 1705.—My lord; Saturday col. Durel brought the good news of your grace’s glorious action; the same night I received another by the post, and yesterday a third letter from your grace.

“ You have, my lord, exceeded our very hopes or expectations, and no person could have done it but yourself. What I took the liberty to say to the queen upon this occasion, is what I believe in my soul, that no subjects in the world have such a prince as the queen, and that no prince in the world hath such a subject as your grace.

“ Your friends and servants here cannot be without concern upon your grace’s account, when we hear how much you expose that precious life of your’s upon all occasions, and that you are not contented to do the part of a great general, but you condescend to take your share as a common soldier. I hope your lordship’s unwearied care and unparalleled merit, will in due time procure a lasting and sure peace for Europe, with repose and eternal renown to your grace. I am afraid there are some on this side, who have with great industry given encouragement to their friends in Holland to expect and promote the old partition treaty. This success of your grace will destroy that and some other projects of those magicians.”*

* For the contents of this chapter have been consulted—The Correspondence, official and private—Hare’s Epistolary Narrative—Gazette—History of Europe for 1705—Relation of the attack of the lines in the Marlborough Papers—and in Dumont’s Military History—Ledyard, and the french biographer, &c. &c.

CHAPTER 37.

1705.

Attempt of Marlborough to force the passage of the Dyle—Counteracted by the dutch deputies and generals—Conduct of Marlborough arraigned and vindicated—New design to march round the sources of the Dyle, and force the position of the enemy on the Ische—Skilful manœuvres, and bold march to attain this object—Again thwarted by the same factious opponents, and disappointed of a certain victory—Malicious opposition of Slangenberg and his adherents—Anecdotes relating to the failure of this well combined manœuvre—Grievous disappointment of the commander in chief—Retreat to Lower Wavre—Correspondence.

THE factious adherents of the generals who had checked the advance of the duke, seized the opportunity to reproach him with the delay of which they were the cause. They accused him of negligence, in not intercepting the retreat of the enemy, and in not anticipating them in the strong camp of Parc, under the walls of Louvain, which would have ensured the conquest of Brabant. But these malicious detractions were silenced by the general exultation. General Overkirk in his official letter observes: "It is a justice I owe to the duke of Marlborough, to state that the whole honour of the enterprise, executed with so much skill and courage, is solely due to him." The States also in their letter of thanks to his grace, declare, "our generals agree that this victory is entirely due to your excellency's care, prudence, and valour, who have overcome obstacles and difficulties, hitherto deemed insurmountable and invincible."

A congratulatory letter from the king of Prussia, testified in stronger terms the satisfaction with which he had witnessed his

success, in forcing the lines behind which the french had taken refuge, at the mere news of his march.*

But it was from the court of Vienna, and from the new emperor that he received the most flattering marks of satisfaction and regard. To his adjutant, colonel Richards, who conveyed the news of the victory, Joseph publicly testified his gratitude, for the services of the duke, to the common cause in general, and to his family in particular, declaring that they were such as should never be forgotten by himself or his posterity. On the ensuing day an official letter of congratulation issued from the chancery, to which Joseph added a postscript, in his usual style of cordiality and attachment.

“ I cannot refrain from testifying to you myself, the joy I felt at the fortunate success of your arms; not doubting its good effects for the common cause. I am much concerned that I am not able to place myself at the head of the army, to shew in person the particular esteem I have for you, and the confidence which I repose in you.”†

In England the news of this almost bloodless success excited the most lively satisfaction. It was celebrated by a public Te Deum, like the battle of Blenheim, and the queen herself went in person to St. Paul's, to return thanksgiving for the victory.

Since the passage of the lines, no material change had taken place in the respective positions of the contending armies. The troops of Marlborough remained between Vlierbeck, and Corbeck Overloo, and the dutch, who formed the left, extending from Corbeck to the skirts of the wood of Murdael. On the other hand, the enemy distributed their force along the Dyle, from the Ische to Rosslaer, near the Demer, retaining Louvain as a central point, from whence they might succour either wing, which might be threatened with an attack.

Marlborough burned with impatience to follow up his success by an immediate attempt against the french position; but his

* King of Prussia to the duke, July 27, 1705.

† From the original in the Marlborough Papers.

design was retarded by a succession of heavy rains, which fell for eight or nine days, and not only broke up the roads, but swelled into torrents the numerous streams with which the country is intersected.

To lord Godolphin he observes :

“ July 12-23. The great rains we have had all Tuesday and Wednesday night, have drowned all the meadows, by which we were to have marched to have gone over the Dyle. The french were then in such a consternation, that if we could have marched yesterday morning, as was intended, I believe they would not have opposed our passage, nor do I think they really intend it. But most of our dutch generals are of another opinion, upon the french camping this day part of their troops over against the place where we should pass, when the waters will give us leave, though I think they are only come there to try if that may hinder us.”

This suspense was attended with the most mischievous effects ; for it gave the french time to recover from their panic, and to fortify the points which were most exposed, while it allowed the enthusiasm of the dutch to cool, and damped the ardour with which the troops were inspired by their recent success against the lines. It also again exposed the duke to unmerited obloquy, although his active mind was employed night and day in devising plans of offensive operation, to regain the advantage which he had been constrained to forego, and to drive the enemy from the Dyle.

This unfortunate inactivity again called into action the malicious spirit of the discontented generals, and enabled Slangenberg to employ, with a sinister effect, his influence over the field deputies. But notwithstanding these machinations, and the multiplied obstacles which Marlborough had already encountered, he still persisted in his project, and hoped to accomplish it by the same secrecy and the same combinations which he had employed in the passage of the lines. He accordingly again sent baron Hompesch to the Hague, and obtained the acquiescence of the States, provided the design was approved by the generals and deputies. By this impolitic restriction he was compelled to recur

to several councils of war, and to communicate a part of his plan to those by whom he had been constantly thwarted. The disclosure not only occasioned an injurious delay; but according to the opinion of an eye witness,* and even of Marlborough himself, his design was betrayed to the enemy; for notwithstanding the feints which he repeatedly made, to call the attention of Villeroy to the north of Louvain, the french commander was so far from being deceived, that he actually drew his troops from that quarter, to strengthen his right, which he well knew to be the real point of attack.

After a suspense of several days, Marlborough extorted the acquiescence of the dutch deputies and generals in the attempt to pass the river, though it was clogged with the absurd proviso that no risk should be incurred. He hoped, however, as before, "to cheat them into success;" though unfortunately the troops who formed his left, and on whom he was principally forced to rely, were dutch, and consequently subject to the immediate control of their own officers. He therefore selected, for the leading detachment, a body of five battalions and nine squadrons of dutch, under general Heukelom, and another, from his own army, of twelve battalions and thirty-seven squadrons, under the duke of Wirtemberg and count Oxenstiern.† The first was to pass the Dyle at Neer Ische, and the last at Corbeck; and the combined army was to march to their support, as soon as night should conceal the movement from the knowledge of the enemy.

These corps assembled in front of the lines, with the necessary implements and train of pontoons; and as in the passage of the lines each horseman was provided with a truss of forage, instead of a fascine. At five in the afternoon they moved in silence, reached their destined points at ten, and remained during the night under arms, to commence their operations before the dawn, which was considered as the most favourable moment for a surprise. About midnight the two armies also broke up and followed, marching without fires, and with the utmost precaution.

* Hare.

† According to Milner this detachment was commanded by lord Orkney.

Two of the columns were bewildered in the darkness ; but notwithstanding the accident, the dutch, at three in the morning, were sufficiently near to sustain the detachments, and the english were rapidly advancing.

The detachments now received notice to commence the passage. At Corbeck 500 grenadiers, forming the advance of the duke of Wirtemberg's corps, constructed a temporary bridge, and traversed the Dyle with little opposition ; and at Neer Ische, Heukelom not only led over the whole of his foot, but drove three brigades of the enemy from the village. The point was now gained, had the detachments been promptly and effectually supported ; for although the enemy had moved the moment they discovered the march of the allies, they were yet at too great a distance to obstruct the passage of the main army. At this crisis, however, a sudden suspense took place : for the dutch, though on the spot, not only refused to sustain the detachment at Corbeck, but even hesitated in maintaining the advantage which Heukelom had bravely obtained.

Marlborough, as he was advancing at the head of his own troops, was apprised of the unexpected demur on the left. He dispatched an aide de camp, urging the necessity of immediately succouring or recalling Heukelom, and soon followed himself, with all speed, in the hope that his presence would vanquish the indecision of the dutch commanders. Riding up to the spot, where they were holding a species of council, he was about to exhort them to support their detachment, when Slangenberg exclaiming " for God's sake my lord duke don't—" took him aside, and continued for some time to address him with much gesticulation, as if dissuading him from so hazardous an enterprise. During this colloquy, the dutch generals sent orders to Heukelom to retire without delay ; and the duke had the mortification to see his plan frustrated, at the moment when, in his opinion, promptitude and vigour would have ensured success. For the french, instead of advancing with intrepidity and order, suffered severely from the artillery of the detachments, and kept at a cautious distance ; and Heukelom was so little pressed, that he withdrew without the loss

of a single man, or even of a single pontoon. The other detachment was consequently recalled, and the army resumed its camp with a loss not exceeding 50 men.*

We have been thus minute in giving an account of this attempt, because it had been falsely or partially related, and because the true cause of the failure was never divulged.

No letter from the duke appeared in the gazette; while one which he wrote to the States, with a view of sparing the feelings of the dutch, ascribed the failure to the sudden advance of the enemy in force. This account was confirmed by a letter from Overkirk, as well as by the brief narrative, which was given under the authority of the english government. The deputies also still farther exonerated themselves, and cast an indirect censure on the conduct of the commander in chief, by attributing the failure to the advantage of the enemy, in point of strength and position, and to the impossibility of combining the efforts of the troops employed in the enterprise.

As the silence of Marlborough gave countenance to these erroneous statements, the enemy exulted in the skill of their generals, and the courage of their troops, and claimed the merit of foiling the designs of the great commander, who had repeatedly humbled their pride. The same tone was adopted by the envious and disaffected, both in England and abroad: the military character of Marlborough was bitterly arraigned, and his disappointment attributed to a want of skill, and presumptuous confidence in his past success.

After a short halt the army again moved, and took up a position with the right at Meldert, and the left at Bossut. Here they remained several days.

In his official correspondence, though Marlborough dwells on this unfortunate failure in terms of the keenest regret, yet he

* Hare's Narrative of the Campaign—Milner—It is remarkable that in the gazette no mention is made of the dutch, from a delicacy not to offend the States. The only public document which traces the true cause of the failure, is an anonymous letter from an english artillery officer, who was engaged in laying the bridges—History of Europe, p. 258.

gives no particulars ; but in two of his private letters, he is more circumstantial, and ascribes the failure to its real cause.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Near Louvain, July 29, 1705.

“ You will have here inclosed her majesty’s letter, which by mistake was forgot in my last. I am now almost in despair of having that advantage we ought to expect from our last success ; for we have now been here nine days in sight of the enemy, the river Dyle only between us. On Wednesday last, it was unanimously resolved we should pass it the next morning. But that afternoon there fell so much rain that made it impracticable ; but the fair weather has made it as it was, so that I resolved to have passed it this morning. Upon which the deputies held a council all the generals of monsieur Overkirk’s army, who have unanimously retracted their opinion, and declared the passage of the river to be of too dangerous a consequence, which resolution, in my opinion, will spoil the whole campaign. They have, at the same time, proposed to me to attack the french on their left, but I know they will let that fall also, as soon as they shall see the ground ; for that has much more difficulties in it than what I was desirous they should do. In short these generals are so cautious, that we shall be able to do nothing, unless an occasion offers, which must be put in execution before they can have a council of war. It is very mortifying to find much more obstructions from friends than from enemies ; but that is now the case with me, and yet I dare not shew my resentment, for fear of too much alarming the dutch, and indeed encouraging the enemy.”

The ministry in England, and the friends of the duke of Marlborough in particular, took a warm interest in the disappointments which he experienced. No one appeared more deeply affected than his dependent and friend, Mr. St. John, secretary at war, who owed his post to the confidence and esteem of the duke. We introduce a letter from his correspondence of this year, less for its real importance, than for its singular contrast to the subsequent conduct and principles of the writer. In perusing this

letter, which appears to be dictated by feelings of gratitude and patriotism, no one could imagine that it proceeded from the hand of one, who hastened the fall of Marlborough, and hurried the nation into that ILL PEACE, which he here so earnestly deprecates.

“ *Whitehall, August 18, 1705.*

“ My lord ;—I acknowledge the favour of your grace’s letter from the camp at Meldert of the 6th instant, and return you my humble thanks for thinking me so zealous for the public, and so faithful a servant to you. Whatever situation of life I am in, your grace will never be deceived in this opinion. I have all the force of inclination, as well as the strongest ties of gratitude, to bind me to you.

“ It was very melancholy to find the malice of Slangenberg, the fears of Dopf, and the ignorance of the deputies, to mention no more, prevail so as to disappoint your grace to their prejudice as well as ours. We hope the dutch have agreed to what your grace desires of them, without which the war becomes a jest to our enemies, and can end in nothing but an ill peace, which is certain ruin to us.

“ I attribute the quelling of that spirit of faction, which appeared at Nimeguen, and is in other parts of Holland, to nothing so much as your grace’s return and glorious success, and hope this will keep down the ferment here, which rises apace, and promises a stormy winter.

“ I am, my lord, with all imaginable respect and truth, &c.”

Though depressed by chagrin, and shackled by the perverseness of those who acted under him, Marlborough did not yield to despair, but formed the resolution of forcing the enemy to an engagement, in the hope of distinguishing the close of this campaign, by a victory no less splendid than the last. He sent Hompesch to the Hague, with a letter reprobating the conduct of Slangenberg and his adherents, and expatiating on the folly of subjecting all military operations to the decision of councils of war.

But notwithstanding his eminent services, and the just estimation in which he was held by the dutch, it was no easy task to

supersede the formalities of a weak and captious government, influenced by french intrigue. The only effect of his representations was a species of compromise, which he himself considered as little better than nugatory.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ *Meldert, August 3, 1705.*

“ I have sent lieutenant-general Hompesch once more to the Hague. The inclosed is a copy of my letter I sent by him to the pensioner. By it you will see that I have a mind to serve them if they please; but if they should not allow of what I propose, it is impossible to act offensively; for besides the danger of resolving every thing that is to be done in a council of war, which cannot be kept so secret, but that the enemy must know it time enough to prevent it, as we had the experience of in our last undertaking, so monsieur Slangenberg, though he is a brave man, his temper is such that there is no taking measures with him. I am so tired that I cannot answer your's at this time.”

“ *Meldert, August 13, 1705.*

“ Lieutenant-general Hompesch,” he observes, “ is come back with the resolution of the States, in which they desire their deputies not to call a council of war; but when they shall think it absolutely necessary. At the same time it is expected that I should not only communicate to the deputies and monsieur Overkirk, but that I must have their concurrence, so that I am afraid the matter is not at all mended by this resolution; for whatever I shall propose of consequence, the deputies, that have no knowledge of the matter, can have no opinion till they have advised with somebody, which must be with their generals.

“ The waggons loaded with six days bread, I am assured, shall be here to-morrow, so that on Saturday I shall begin to march. I wish, with all my heart, this march may give an opportunity for action, for our men are very desirous of engaging the enemy.”

With even this modified permission, Marlborough did not hesitate to resume offensive operations. Sensible, however, that he could not induce the dutch again to attempt the passage of the

Dyle, or baffle the vigilance of the enemy, who had considerably strengthened their position, he formed the plan of an expedition which would render their natural and artificial defences unavailing, by moving round the sources of the river. As this movement would deprive him of all direct communication with his magazines, he remained at Meldert to procure a sufficient supply of bread and provisions, for the time which it was likely to last. The interval was employed in commencing the demolition of the lines. On the 13th of August the bread arrived; and as this day was the anniversary of the battle of Blenheim, it was spent in acts of thanksgiving, and in those elevated hopes, which the recollection of past success, and the actual preparations, were calculated to inspire.

At this juncture baron Sparre, who commanded a detached force on the side of Bergen-op-zoom, broke through the lines between Ghent and Bruges, and made an irruption into Brabant; and though compelled to retire before superior numbers, he fully succeeded in his object, which was, to distract the attention of the enemy.

At the moment when this irruption had produced its effect, Marlborough left detachments to secure Diest and Tirlemont, and broke up his camp. On the 15th of August he directed his march from Meldert to the abbey of Corbais, while Overkirk made a parallel movement to Nill St. Martin. At Corbais being apprised that a strong detachment from the french army in Alsace, would reach Philippeville on the 18th, the british commander accelerated his march, with the hope of reaching the enemy before the junction could take place. The next day the confederates continued their progress, and arriving at Genappe, near the sources of the Dyle, were united in one line of battle, and under one command. On the 17th they again moved, and approaching the borders of the forest of Soignies, encamped between Hulpen and Braine l'Allieu, the head quarters being at Fischermont. In the interim the enemy took the alarm, and withdrawing from the Dyle, established themselves behind the Ische, their front being protected by the stream, and their right and rear

by a part of the forest. In this situation they hoped to cover Brussels, without relinquishing their advantageous position on the Dyle.

Anxious to attack the enemy, at the moment of their change of camps, Marlborough resolved to force the passage of the Ische. With this view he made a particular inquiry, from the people of the country, into the nature of the ground bordering the stream; and procured guides, who were intimately acquainted with the situation of the fords, and the condition of the banks. The same evening he selected a detachment of twenty battalions, and as many squadrons, which was placed under the command of his brother, general Churchill, and posted in front of the lines, to commence the attack, by skirting the borders of the forest, and turning the right flank of the enemy.

A report being now brought that a french detachment had occupied Waterloo, a post on the high road between Nivelles and Brussels, at the entrance of the forest, the pickets were called out, and compelled the enemy to retire into the wood. They however re-appeared in the evening, and an alarm was suddenly spread that their whole army was advancing in that direction. The duke was thus called from his quarters, where he had retired to repose, after his great exertions both of body and mind. On riding to the spot, he found the alarm to be false, but it deprived him of three hours rest, at a time when rest was doubly necessary.

As the next movement would bring the army in presence of the enemy, preparations were made for action. At day break the heavy baggage was sent to Lower Wavre, and the army marched by the right in two columns, the artillery forming a third. The first column traversed the river Lane above Hulpen, and defiled to the left, through a long and narrow pass, leading by an ascent into the forest. On approaching, the troops were delighted to observe, that this vast mass of wood, which appeared almost impervious at a distance, consisted of open plantations, intersected by good roads, and unencumbered with thickets. They also found the soil firm and dry; and having traversed half a league of forest, emerged into the plain between the Ische and the Lane.

The second column, which crossed the plain farther to the right, found a passage still more easy. During the march, a sudden shower seemed to portend a rainy day; but the atmosphere speedily cleared up, and at nine the troops first descried the enemy.

Meanwhile the commander in chief was actively employed in examining the hostile position. He discovered four practicable points of attack, at Over Ische, between that village and Holberg, near Holberg, and at Neer Ische. In his survey he advanced so closely to the enemy, that he was exposed to the fire of their artillery, and being saluted with several cannon shot, from a point which was peculiarly weak, he smilingly observed to his attendants, "These gentlemen do not chuse to have this spot too narrowly inspected."

While the army was in march, the detachment, under general Churchill, took the route towards the left, and traversed a causeway leading to the convent of Groenendale. But on approaching the convent, their march was interrupted by an abbatis, and they learnt that a corps of twenty french battalions was strongly posted at the opposite opening of the wood. In consequence of this unexpected obstacle, they were unable to fulfil their instructions, and made a short halt, to wait for new orders from the commander in chief.

The main body was now completing its formation, as fast as the troops arrived, and Marlborough anxiously expected the appearance of the artillery, which he had ordered to march with the utmost expedition. But its progress was obstructed by the insolence, if not the malice, of Slangenberg, who notwithstanding the strictest injunctions, that the baggage should not be suffered to intermingle with the column, overbore the commanding officer, and compelled him to admit his own baggage into the train.

As the duke returned from his survey, full of hope and confidence, he met Overkirk, and immediately went back with him to shew the peculiarities of the ground at Over Ische, which was selected as his point of attack. The dutch commander perfectly coincided in his opinion, and approved his intended dispositions.

As they proceeded towards Holberg, Marlborough observed the opposite point of the hostile position to be slenderly guarded. He considered the juncture as too favourable to be lost, and immediately ordered the nearest troops to advance and occupy it without delay, while the cavalry moved to Neer Ische; but he was obliged to countermand these orders, by the information that the artillery was still in the rear, and the whole army not yet arrived. The design was soon perceived by the enemy, who hurried to the point several pieces of artillery.

At mid-day, intelligence being brought that the troops were in line, and the artillery had arrived, the duke again rode along the front of the hostile position, to issue his final instructions. Meeting the deputies in his way, he cheerfully congratulated them on the prospect of success, and pressed them to give orders for the advance of the troops. Far from receiving the proposal with the same alacrity, they replied, "Your highness will doubtless allow us to request the opinion of our generals." Accordingly the superior officers were collected, about three, on the height of Over Ische, and Marlborough impatient of delay, thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I have reconnoitred the ground, and made dispositions for an attack. I am convinced, that conscientiously, and as men of honour, we cannot now retire without an action. Should we neglect this opportunity, we must be responsible before God and man. You see the confusion which pervades the ranks of the enemy, and their embarrassment at our manœuvres. I leave you to judge whether we should attack to day, or wait till to-morrow. It is indeed late, but you must consider that by throwing up intrenchments during the night, the enemy will render their position far more difficult to force!"

A murmur of disapprobation was heard in the circle; but Slangenberg, without waiting for the decision of his colleagues, abruptly exclaimed, "Since I have been led to this place without any previous communication of the design, I will give no other opinion than that the passage at Over Ische is impracticable. However I am ready to obey the orders which I may receive." The duke, affecting not to notice this insulting speech, turned to

him and mildly observed, "I am happy to have under my command an officer of your courage and skill, and I flatter myself, that in a situation which requires instant decision, you will start no difficulties." He concluded with proposing to him the direction of the attack at Over Ische ; but Slangenberg made no other reply than "Murder and massacre !" To remove objections supposed to be derived from his unwillingness to risk the dutch troops, Marlborough then offered him two english for every dutch battalion ; and on his sneering rejoinder, that he did not understand English, proposed to consign to him the german regiments. But this offer was also rejected, on the plea that the attack was impracticable.

Marlborough was roused by these cavils, and observed with warmth, "I disdain to send troops to dangers, which I will not myself encounter ; and therefore I will lead them where the peril is most imminent." He then apostrophised the deputies, adjuring them by God and their country not to neglect so favourable an opportunity.

Of this exhortation they took no notice, but resumed their deliberation, forming a circle where they stood. The consultation continued two hours, new difficulties being perpetually started, while Marlborough was observed standing by in an agony of impatience. At this moment the news being brought that his brother, general Churchill, was prevented from advancing, he querulously exclaimed, "Let him then retire. His retreat will not be far, and if the attack is made, he may return."

After another hour's deliberation, the opinion of Slangenberg prevailed, and it was unanimously decided that the enemy were too advantageously posted to be attacked, particularly at Over Ische. Some, however, candidly owned that they could form no judgment on the other points, which they had not examined.

To remove this objection, three generals, Tilly, Slangenberg, and Salisch, were sent to reconnoitre ; and were accompanied by brigadier Bothmar and quarter master general Stark, who at the desire of the duke attended to shew the ground. This survey proved a new source of cavils and objections. Every post occupied

by the enemy was deemed too strong to be forced ; the river was declared not fordable ; and the most trifling elevation was considered as inaccessible to cavalry. All the arguments of Bothmar and Stark were unavailing. Salisch demanded of Bothmar, who was present at Blenheim, whether the position of the Ische was not the most formidable. Instead of listening to the reply, he indulged himself in a long digression, and concluded with censuring that engagement as a rash and imprudent attempt. Some dispute next arising on the force of the enemy, Slangenberg drew from his pocket an order of battle, and computed the number of their battalions and squadrons to be far greater than those of the confederates. The time was thus spent, till the approach of darkness compelled them to return to their respective quarters.

Without waiting for the result of this survey, Marlborough had indignantly retired to Lane, where he was apprised by Bothmar that the three generals had seen nothing but obstructions and impossibilities. Mortified with this information, even though it was not unexpected, he exclaimed in a tone, which marked his feelings, " I am at this moment *ten* years older than I was four days ago."

The following morning Overkirk sent him an official report, stating the opinion of the three generals, and adding, that the attack was still more hopeless than on the preceding day, because the enemy had profited by the night to increase their means of defence.* Convinced that the case was now irremediable, Marlborough quitted a spot, which he had confidently hoped to illustrate by a victory, no less splendid than that of Blenheim ;

* The account of this transaction is drawn from Hare's Narrative ; from the letter of an officer who received his information from Slangenberg himself ; and from a curious and minute relation, written by Bothmar, in the Marlborough Papers. We have also consulted all the printed authorities, particularly Slangenberg's Apologetic Letter to the States, printed in Lamberti.

It is impossible to close our remarks without reminding the reader that this spot has been recently distinguished by an event of a far different character, in which our second Marlborough vindicated the honour of his country, and reaped those laurels which the hero of Blenheim was prevented from gathering by malice, timidity, ignorance, and treachery.

and withdrawing to Lower Wavre, where he rejoined his baggage, concluded with a brief though pathetic postscript, a letter which he had written two days before to the duchess, in the full expectation of success.

“ August 17. We shall march again to-morrow ; for we cannot stay longer in this country than the bread we bring with us will give us leave. I hope in a week or ten days I shall have more leisure than I have now, and then I am resolved to drink the Spa waters. I wish with all my heart those of Tunbridge may do you good ; and then I am sure the first summer I am with you I shall desire to go thither with you, and then I believe the waters will do me good ; for till I am pleased and at ease with you, no waters nor any thing else will do me good. ”

“ August 19. When I had writ this far, I took the resolution of not letting the post go, believing I should have engaged the enemy as yesterday, which I certainly had done if it had been in my power. But all the dutch generals, except M. Overkirk, were against it, so that the deputies would not consent to our engaging, notwithstanding we were in battle, within cannon shot of the enemy ; and I do assure you that our army were at least one third stronger than theirs. We are now returning ; for we cannot stay longer than the bread we have brought with us will give us leave. It is impossible to make the war with advantage at this rate. I have sent a copy of my letter to the States to lord treasurer. I should have writ in a very angry style, but I was afraid it might have given the french an advantage. ”

To give additional poignancy to the grief which Marlborough felt at this unfortunate failure, he had soon afterwards the mortification to learn, that the enemy, instead of risking an engagement, would have fallen back on Brussels, had he advanced against them with his whole force.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Corbais, August 24, 1705.

“ I did in my last send you a copy of my letter to the States, in which I was careful not to use any expression that might give

advantage to the french. Several prisoners whom we have taken since, as well as the deserters, assure us that they should have made no other defence, but such as might have given them time to have drawn the army towards Brussels, where all their baggage was already gone. By this you may imagine how I am vexed, seeing very plainly that the people I am joined with will never do any thing."

CHAPTER 38.

1705.

*Letter of Marlborough to the States, against the conduct of the deputies and generals—
 Their counter manifesto—Sensation in England and Holland—Marlborough over-
 rules the resolution of the british cabinet, to make a formal remonstrance with the
 States—His chagrin at the misrepresentations in the Gazette—Retrograde movement
 of the army to Meldert and Tirlemont—Capture of Leeuwe and rasure of the lines
 —Indisposition and recovery of Marlborough—Manifestation of public sentiment
 in his favour—New arrangements relative to the command, and dismissal of
 Slangenberg—Overtures from France to the dutch—Letters of Marlborough on the
 subject.*

ON retiring to his quarters at Lower Wavre, the duke wrote an official letter to the States, which displays the struggle in his mind, between his fear of injuring the common cause, by an incautious remonstrance, and his indignation at the disappointment he had undergone. After observing, that from the goodness of the troops he had flattered himself with the prospect of a glorious victory, and was confident the deputies would impart the arguments on both sides of the question, he added, “they will at the same time do M. Overkirk justice, by informing you that he coincided with me in opinion, and thought the opportunity too fair to be lost. However I submitted, though with extreme reluctance.” In a postscript, giving farther scope to his feelings, he observes, “My heart is so full, that I cannot forbear representing to your high mightinesses on this occasion, that I find my authority here to be much less than when I had the honour to command your troops in Germany.”

On the same evening in which he wrote his letter to the States General, and from the same place, the deputies issued what may

be called a counter manifesto. In this document they justified their opposition to the proposed attack, by declaring that according to the unanimous opinion of all the dutch generals, except Overkirk, the nature of the ground and the superior forces of the enemy, presented insurmountable obstacles to so desperate an enterprise, as the attempt to force the passage of the Ische. They even extended their objections to such petty cavils, as the difficulty of establishing hospitals, or forwarding convoys of bread; and concluded their justification by an indirect censure on the commander in chief, for concealing from them the real object of his movements.

“ And we hoping that we have fully satisfied the intentions of your high mightinesses, contained in your resolution of the 5th instant, to permit the duke of Marlborough, without holding a council of war, to make two or three marches, for the execution of some design formed by his grace; we therefore, for the future, shall regulate our conduct according to our instructions and your high mightinesses’ resolution of the 26th of June last, except your high mightinesses should be pleased to send us farther orders. And we cannot conceal from your high mightinesses, that all the generals of our army *think it very strange that they should not have the least notice of the said marches.*”

As on the former occasion, the french also naturally availed themselves of this official report, to laud the skill of their own generals, to magnify the valour of their own troops, and to reflect on the military talents of the british commander, as if he had been hurried by presumption into an enterprise, which was impracticable, or had been baffled by the superior tactics and activity of his opponents. In England, the enemies of Marlborough as well as the advocates for peace, adopted the language and sentiments of this document, although it was known to be both partial and false; and bitter censures were again lavished on the military conduct of the illustrious chief.

The letter of Marlborough being surreptitiously printed, before it was communicated to the States, produced a deep sensation in Holland. The english partisans, who had long deplored the timid

policy of their government, were roused to indignation ; and at the Hague, in particular, the burghers held an assembly to remonstrate against the misconduct of their deputies and generals.

From Holland, the same feeling spread into England : a deep sentiment of indignation was diffused through all ranks ; the people warmly espoused the cause of their general ; and in numerous publications, hawked about the streets, the severest reflections were cast on the dutch nation, and in particular on the deputies of the States, for not suffering the duke to engage the enemy. In the british cabinet the impulse derived from public opinion was strengthened by the indignant complaints of the commander himself, in his correspondence with Godolphin and Harley.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ August 19. You will see by the inclosed to the States, that after four days march, I found the enemy encamped as I expected, so that I thought we should have had a very glorious day. But as the deputies would not consent without first consulting the generals, who were all against it, except M. Overkirk, we have been obliged to retire from the enemy, notwithstanding we were at least one third stronger than they, which I take to be very prejudicial to the common cause, and scandalous for the army. I think this will shew very plainly, that it is next to impossible to act offensively with this army, so governed as they are ; for when their general and I agree, as we did in this, that it shall be in the power of subaltern generals to hinder the execution, is against all discipline. This last action of the dutch generals has given us great mortification ; for the enemy will see very plainly that they have nothing to fear on this side, nor can I ever serve with them without losing the little reputation I have ; for in most countries they think I have power in this army to do what I please. I beg you will give my duty to the queen, and assure her, that if I had had the same power I had the last year, I should have had a greater victory than that of Blenheim, in my opinion ; for the french were so posted, that if we had beat them, they could not have got to Brussels.

Convinced, indeed, from bitter experience that the evil was irremediable, Marlborough seems to have formed the resolution of suffering the dutch to remain on the defensive, as more congenial to their character and constitution, and renewing offensive operations in Germany and Italy. This design he communicated to Godolphin, in a letter dated Ramey, August 27.

“By your's of the 10th, from Windsor, I see you thought I should find much less difficulty in the execution of what I had projected, than you will find by mine of the 19th. Since that I have reason to believe that Slangenberg has resolved to give all the hindrance he could to whatever should be proposed, so that you may see how the common cause is like to thrive, when it is in the power of a roman catholic of his temper to hinder whatever may be designed. This makes it impossible for me to serve with these people; for I take it for granted their constitution will not allow them to give us such power as for the good of the service I ought to have; so that the next year's project ought to be so made, as that the dutch army in this country may be on the defensive, by which all the other armies may be put in a condition to act offensively.”

These appeals drew from the british cabinet a resolution of dispatching lord Pembroke, president of the council, to the Hague, to remonstrate against the misconduct of Slangenberg and the deputies, and to insist on a more efficient arrangement with regard to the command of the army. Harley, as secretary, imparted the decision to the duke, in a tone of devoted attachment to his patron and benefactor.*

“August 18-29. My lord; This day we received two mails from Holland, and about four hours after a third packet arrived; and I had the honour by these three posts to receive two letters from your grace, one of Aug. 19, the other of Aug. 24: your grace's expression in your postscript to the States is so just, it

* State Paper Office.

sets every honest man's heart higher; for I must own my heart is too full to speak upon this subject; and Mr. Vryberge, after all his artifice to colour the misbehaviour at the Dyle, now is struck dumb and hangs his head. What shall one say? Your grace's superior talents prepared a glorious victory for them, and they dared not, or would not take hold of it. I know not what name to call this by; I cannot trust myself to reason upon it. The root it springs from, I fear will produce, worse fruit it cannot, but more I doubt of the same kind, unless a speedy remedy can be applied. The queen, upon reading your grace's letter, ordered the lords immediately to be summoned; they were all of opinion to advise the queen to take notice of this to the States, in regard not only to the public service, but also what is due to your grace's great merit, to which such usage is very inconsistent. Besides, this sort of conduct will put vast difficulties upon the queen in obtaining supplies for another year; and it is a very great hardship that those who set themselves at home to oppose the queen's measures, and every thing she shall do for the public good, should be furnished with such plausible, fatal arguments by our friends in Holland.

“The queen being advised to represent this to the States, from many other reasons which would be needless to suggest to your grace, the next consideration was, the method of doing it; and it seemed to be agreed that some person of figure and activity should be sent over to the States, upon this and any other particular which may occur. This went no farther than a proposal, it being determined first to send to your grace an express messenger for your opinion upon this subject. To that purpose I send Nicholas Hill, who hath been formerly in Flanders. He is commanded, if possible, to bring your grace's answer to Windsor by to-morrow se'nnight, or as soon as you can dispatch him.

“The knowledge your grace has of the government of that country, of their humours, their factions, and the particular inclinations and dispositions of the several great men there, with their respective interests and attachments; with that clearness of

understanding and penetration of which your grace is so great a master, makes every body here justly depend upon your direction in this critical affair. My lord treasurer writes largely to your grace upon this and other heads, and therefore I will say no more, but desire your grace to be assured I will take any part you shall think proper for me. I am with the greatest duty, &c."

This proposal was congenial to his own sentiments, for in the first transport of resentment, he had imparted to his friends in Holland a resolution of quitting the army and returning to England. Fortunately however for the public, his irritated feelings were soothed by the earl of Portland and his friends in Holland, who not only deprecated a step so fatal to the confederacy, but made an earnest appeal to Godolphin against the mission of lord Pembroke, as likely to increase the general ferment, and produce an alienation, if not a breach, between the two countries.* Mature reflection, and the arguments of this nobleman, produced their due effect on the mind of the commander, and we soon find him seconding the remonstrance against the intended mission.

"Tirlemont, Sept. 2.†

"I received last night the favour of a letter from you of the 18th. I could not refuse giving you my humble opinion, as you desire, upon what has been proposed to her majesty in council, of sending some person of distinction to the Hague with relation to our late disappointment, and the more absolute command of the army, whereupon I shall venture to tell you my thoughts freely. From the knowledge and experience I have of these people, that while they are in such a ferment on this very occasion, and that there are such divisions reigning amongst them, I can no ways think it for the public good or her majesty's service, as believing it might rather give an advantage to the french, and those that wish them well, or at least that are over forwards for a peace, of which I must own there are many amongst the States themselves,

* Letter from lord Portland to the lord treasurer, Hague, 18th Sept. 1705.

† The duke of Marlborough to secretary Harley.—State Paper Office.

than effect the end you propose ; and therefore I would humbly offer, that it might be deferred 'till I had advised with such of our friends as, I am sure, are in the true interest, and by that means will be obliged to pursue such methods as are, or may be thought more proper for the public good. One chief reason that makes me to be of this opinion is, that I am persuaded if an opportunity should now offer before our leaving the field, the greatest part of the generals who were against engaging the enemy, are so sensible of their error that they would not obstruct any thing that might be for our advantage. Another reason is, that the sending such a person at this time would undoubtedly create great jealousies at the court of Vienna, and with our other allies, whatever we might allege to the contrary, that it had some tendency towards peace, many of them being too ready to receive such impressions, which might prove of dangerous consequence.

“ You will please to lay this with submission before her majesty, and believe me to be with truth, &c.”

Meanwhile the army of Marlborough retraced their steps by retrograde marches to Corbais, and afterwards proceeding in two bodies by Ramey and Pervez-le-marché, took up their former position between Bossut and Meldert, in which latter place the head quarters were fixed on the 30th of August. During this march, Marlborough sent general Demer to invest Leuwe, the only fortress on the southern part of the lines, which was yet held by the french. On the 2nd he advanced to Tirlemont, and having received the surrender of Leuwe, ordered the demolition of the lines from that place to the Mehaigne. He beheld with exulting satisfaction the rasure of this formidable barrier, which opened a way to his future progress.

While he directed these operations, he profited by the vicinity of the Spa, to drink the waters, with the hope of recovering his health. During his short residence at Tirlemont, he also retired from the bustle of company, and as much as possible avoided the transaction of business. But when the mind is deeply affected, neither the skill of the physician, nor the salutary powers of nature can restore health and serenity ; and we again trace in his letters

that tone of dejection and irritability which had reigned in his correspondence, since his disappointment on the Moselle, though we observe his active genius still conceiving grand projects, and anticipating future victories.

TO THE DUCHESS.

"Tirlemont, August 31, 1705.

"I have so many things that vex me, that I am afraid the waters, which I think to begin to-morrow, will not do me much good. That I may be the more quiet during this siege of Leuwe, I have taken my quarters in this town, and will trouble myself with business as little as possible. My letters from the Hague tell me that the factious there are divided, concerning the last disappointment I had. Those that are for a peace think their generals acted prudently; but the others are angry with them and their deputies, so that it is with them as with us in England, they judge by parties. I wish the french may make no advantage of these unhappy divisions; for it is most certain that the french are so desirous of a peace, that the dutch may have whatever they will ask; but should we be so unfortunate as to have a peace concluded as things now are, it is most certain it could not last long, and I fear that at last it would be their ruin. But if it be possible, they have more faction than we have, by which we may fear every thing.

"It is impossible for me to express how much I long for the end of this campaign, for I have no prospect of any thing considerable that can be done, unless the french will take heart and offer at something.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Tirlemont, Aug. 31, 1705.

"You do in your's complain of some things at home; but if you could know all I suffer here abroad, you would agree with me in begging of the queen that I might never more go out of England; for in Holland they have not only taken care that my letter should not be printed, but there is another printed, and my

name put to it, of which there is not one word of it mine. I have complained to the pensioner of this, and should have done it to the States, but then it must have been public, which might have caused some disorders among the people there, for they are of my side against their generals. By this you may see how difficult a part I have to act, being obliged to take care that neither the french nor dutch common people know how I am used; for it is most certain I have not the tenth part of the authority I had last year; and it is as certain that if I had had the power of fighting, with the blessing of God the french must have been beaten. By all this you will easily believe me that I shall make it my endeavour to be in England early. But if any misfortune should happen to the army after I were gone, I should never forgive myself; for though I am used ill, the public must not suffer; and should I think of putting this army into winter quarters before the end of October, it would give an opportunity to the french of sending troops to Germany; but be assured my heart is with you. My vexing has put me so much out of order, that I am obliged to take a vomit this night, and to-morrow I shall begin the Spa waters, and shall drink them during the time we shall stay in this camp."

TO THE DUCHESS.

"Tirlemont, Sept. 2, 1705.

"I received last night your's of the 17th and 18th, O. S., of the last month. It is impossible for me to express the trouble the last disappointment has given. However, I must be careful not to speak all the truth, for fear of offending the dutch, which would give a great advantage to the common enemy.

"It is a pleasure to me when I find by your's that you are easier with 79 (the queen). I think for the good of every thing you should make it your business to have it so; for I am very confident by 72 (lord Godolphin's) letters, it would be of great use to him. I wish 79 (the queen), and 72 (lord Godolphin), all the happiness imaginable. But really my spirit is so broke, that whenever I can get from this employment, I must live quietly or die."

When the mortified general was just beginning to moderate his chagrin, and to recover from his disappointment, he was exposed to another insult, which fell the heavier because it came from his own associates. Interested as both the dutch and germans were to repel the torrent of french invasion, and to maintain their independence, it awakens our surprise to observe the plans of our great commander thwarted by national prejudice, and personal jealousy. But it excites still stronger indignation to find him exposed to the obloquy of his own countrymen, and the petty intrigues of men entrusted with official situations. His public report of the operations of the Ische, was drawn up by his secretary, Cardonnel, in such a manner as to spare the honour and feelings of the dutch government, and at the same time to vindicate his own conduct, and furnish a plea for a remonstrance. This account, was, however, garbled in its way to the press, and the report as published in the Gazette* was calculated to convey a censure on Marlborough himself, as if he had only exhibited his troops to the enemy, and then retreated as hastily as he advanced. He would not be so indifferent to his own reputation as not to complain of this unpardonable negligence, or secret animosity. In the postscript of a letter to Godolphin, from Tirlemont, dated Sept. 9, he observes :

“ After I had sealed this letter, Mr. Cardonnel shewed me the Gazette, in which I think I am used very hardly. I send you the paper he wrote by that post, by which you will see what was left out, which I think the writer of the Gazette would not have ventured to have done if he had not had orders for it. If I had

* London Gazette of August 16 to August 20, 1705.—“ The 18th the army decamped at three in the morning from Fischermont, and having passed several defiles, came through the wood of Soignies into a spacious plain, with only the Ische between us and the enemy, whom we found, according to expectation, between Neder Ische and Over Ische. In the afternoon the army encamped at Laue, from whence we marched the 19th, to the camp at Basse Wavre.”

Such was the partial, garbled, and spiritless account which was given by the organ of government to the british public !

not had more regard for the public than for myself, I should have writ more plainly the truth, of the unreasonable disappointment I met with that day, which if I had, I am very confident the common people of Holland would have done me justice, but that would have given great advantage to the french, which was reason enough for me to avoid doing it. But I am much mortified to see that an english gazette has more care not to offend monsieur Vryberge than to do me justice. They have but to see this gazette in Holland, and they will have reason to lay aside any farther thoughts of making new regulations for the giving more authority to the general that shall command, which I hope her majesty will have so much goodness for me as to let it be some other person; for I am very sure I must be madder than any body in Bedlam, if I should be desirous of serving when I am sure that my enemies seek my destruction, and that my friends sacrifice my honour to their wisdom."

Marlborough did not however suffer his private feelings to supersede his sense of public duty, and he accepted an apology* from the two secretaries of state. One, Sir Charles Hedges, excused himself on the plea of absence from town, and the other, Mr. Harley, asserted that he had no control over the gazetteer. Both laid the blame on the negligence or venality of the editor, and promised to remove him from a charge for which he had proved his incompetence. Such indeed was the forbearance of the general, that although the insult to his military character was public, he exacted no public refutation, and would receive no public apology, from the apprehensions which he still felt, that any formal contradiction of this statement might excite a dispute between England and Holland, on whose union depended the success of the grand alliance.

It is with pleasure that we suspend the narrative of military operations and political intrigues, to present the duke in one of

* Letters from secretary Harley to the duke, Sept. 4-15 and 7-18, 1705.—State Paper Office.

those situations in which the hero is lost in the man. From the amiable and humane tone of the following letter, we should hardly conceive that it was written amidst the din of arms, in the anguish of chagrin, and at the moment when his mind was employed in superintending and influencing the great affairs of Europe.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Tirlemont, Sept. 10.

"I reckon this will find you at Winchester, where I wish myself with all my heart. I wish the air may do the queen and prince good, and yourself, if you want it, that you may be the better able to endure this next winter, which is likely to be troublesome, especially if it should prove true what Dr. Hare told me this morning, that, by his letters, Mr. Smith was likely not to be chosen.

"The inclosed is a letter from a young woman of quality that is in love with the Comte de Lyon. He is at Litchfield. I am assured that it is a very virtuous love, and that when they can get their parents consent, they are to be married. As I do from my heart wish that nobody were unhappy, I own to you that this letter has made me wish him in France, so that if he might have leave for four months, without prejudice to her majesty's service, I should be glad of it; but if you think it should not be done, you will then be pleased not to speak to the queen of it."

During his residence at Tirlemont, the paroxysm of his grief and indignation gradually subsided, and he recovered his wonted health and serenity. But this recovery was less owing to the salutary effects of the Spa waters, or to his temporary abstraction from business, than to the general sentiment in his favour, which prevailed in every country of Europe, and to the no less general censures which were lavished on those who had wrested from his grasp a great victory at the moment of execution. Numerous letters of regret and condolence again reached him from all quarters; and he beheld with satisfaction his military character exalted, rather than depressed by the malicious machinations of

his jealous and disaffected rivals. Not only the duchess and his friends in England vied in administering consolation, but the queen again addressed to him one of those condescending proofs of attention, which are highly flattering from the pen of a sovereign.

“Winchester, Sept. 6-17.”

“I am very sorry to find, by your letters to lord treasurer, you are so very much in the spleen. I own all the disagreeable things you have met with this summer are a very just cause for it, and I am very much concerned for the uneasiness you are under; but yet I cannot help hoping, that for the good of your country and the sake of your friends, who cannot support themselves without you, you will be persuaded to banish your melancholy thoughts. My lord treasurer I know gives you an account of every thing that passes here, therefore I shall say no more at this time, only wish the business abroad may give you leave to be soon at home, which all your friends are desirous of, but none, I am sure, more than your humble servant.”

Lord Godolphin also administered to his wounded feelings the balm of friendship. He likewise gratified him with the information that the queen had been induced, by his arguments, to suspend the mission of lord Pembroke, and to leave to the dutch government the power, as they appeared to possess the inclination, of remedying, in their own constitutional way, the grievances under which he laboured.

With the anxiety of a friend, and the sympathy of a commander of congenial spirit, Eugene testified the concern he felt for the disappointment of his illustrious colleague.

“I profit,” he observed, “by this opportunity of assuring your highness of the interest I take in the success of your arms. It is extremely cruel that opinions so weak and discordant should have obstructed the progress of your operations, when you had every reason to expect so glorious a result. I speak to you as a sincere friend. You will never be able to perform any thing considerable with your army unless you are absolute, and I trust your highness will use your utmost efforts to gain that power in future. I am

not less desirous than yourself to be once more united with you in command.”*

From Holland he also received the most gratifying intelligence. The pensionary Heinsius, Slingelandt, and other leading members of the government, expressed their disapprobation of the malicious conduct pursued by their deputies, and the jealous spirit of their generals; promised full redress to his complaints; and only requested that he would shew his usual forbearance in waiting till they could fulfil his wishes, according to the established forms of their constitution.

Marlborough accordingly imparts this information to the minister of finance.

“ *Tirlemont, Sept. 14.*

“ I am extremely glad to find by your's of the 27th, that 74 (lord Pembroke) would not go from London till my letters came, for I hope upon them you will stop his journey, for it might do him hurt, and can do no good at this time. I send you the inclosed, that you may see what the pensionary writes. I will send you a copy of the States' letter by the next post. They have writ one to their deputies and generals, in which they have expressed themselves so as that their generals are not pleased, for they would now have their army fight. I am afraid there will not be an opportunity for it; but should an occasion offer, I do verily believe every body would consent to it, now that we have the happiness of not having Slangenberg, he being gone to Maestricht; and I do, with all my heart, pray to God that I may never be in an army with him. The waters have made my head ache so, that I can write no more, and after to-morrow I intend to leave them off, though I had resolved to have drunk them all this week.

“ *Tirlemont, Sept. 17.*

“ We march to-morrow for Diest, and the next day to Aerschot, where we shall employ three or four days in levelling the lines on that side of which we are masters. At the same time I shall

* Prince Eugene to the duke of Marlborough, Treviglio, Sept. 13.

inform myself, as much I can, of the enemy's line from Wechteren to Antwerp; for in all probability they will keep behind that line for the remaining part of this campaign, so that if we cannot find a way of getting into that line, we must not expect any other action this year.

"I send you a copy of the letter I have received from the States, by which you will see they are desirous we should venture; and I do verily believe, if an occasion should offer, all their generals would readily consent, now that M. Slangenberg is gone. It would have been happy for the common cause he had been sick two months ago."

In Holland the public indignation and the private remonstrances of the duke, seconded by the leading men in the republic, gradually outweighed the efforts of faction and french interest. Even the advocates of the opposite party at length rendered justice to his moderation and forbearance. Vryberge, the dutch minister in England, was commissioned to make an apology to the british cabinet; and Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, met Marlborough at Turnhout on the 21st of September, to conclude a satisfactory arrangement. The result of this interview is described in a letter to Godolphin.

"Aerschot, Sept. 24, 1705."

"I have had the favour of your's of the 6th and 7th from Winchester, by which I find you think my lord Pembroke's not coming may make some noise in England. I think it is much wiser and honester to let such as do not mean well be angry, than to do what must prejudice the public, as this journey of lord Pembroke's would certainly do; for pensioner Buys has confirmed me in my opinion, that the constitution of the States is such, that they cannot take away the power the deputies have had at all times in the army; for in the king's time they had the same authority, but he took care to chuse such men as always agreed to whatever he had a mind to. Now this may, if they please, be put again in practice, but can never be done by a treaty. I have also underhand assurances that they will never employ Slangenberg in the army where I may be. By the whole I find they

would be very glad to content me, but I am afraid would be glad also to have it still in their power to hinder a battle, for they do seem to apprehend very much the consequences of such a venture."

Slangenberg was not only removed from the army, but all his attempts to obtain an official situation were frustrated; and we shall find in the succeeding campaign, the most gratifying proofs that the dutch government were not insincere in their professions, as well as that their confidence in the commander was not ill bestowed.

While the mind of Marlborough was distracted by these contending feelings, and he was striving to adopt measures which might vindicate his military character, without offending the friends of the grand alliance in Holland, he was at the same time embarrassed with an event which called into action all his discretion and address. This was no less than an offer of peace, secretly made by France to the dutch government, which the partisans of the war could not venture openly to oppose, and which those who were the advocates of an immediate reconciliation, warmly applauded and seconded.

The terms were imparted to him confidentially by pensionary Heinsius, as he was marching from the Ische. Though highly captious, and subversive of the principles which formed the basis of the grand alliance, the proffered conditions were admirably calculated to sway the timid character, and gratify the interested views of the Dutch. The republic was lured by the prospect of commercial advantages, and the erection of the Netherlands into an independent state, under such conditions as seemed to afford a barrier against future aggression. In return, the pretensions of Austria to Spain were to be sacrificed for the cession of Naples and Sicily to the archduke Charles; and the duke of Anjou was to be left in tranquil possession of Spain and the Indies, together with the Milanese. England was to be gratified by the acknowledgement of Anne, and the guaranty of the protestant succession; and an indemnity was promised in general terms to the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal.*

* Letter from the pensionary, August 15.

This artful overture impressed the timid mind of Godolphin with the deepest alarm, and excited the dissatisfaction of the confederates in general, and the court of Vienna in particular. Marlborough, however, on this as on other occasions, acted with equal magnanimity and discretion. On one side he allayed unreasonable jealousies and fears, and on the other by a generous confidence, conciliated the leading members of the republic, and inspired even the opposite party with a warmer sense of public spirit, and a higher regard for their national honour. Some extracts from his letters will shew the empire which he maintained over his own feelings, as well as over those of others.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ Ramey, August 27, 1705.

“ I send you a letter I have received since my last to you. You will observe that he* reasons much more than formerly. The business itself is so very difficult, that let them have never so much mind, they will not be able to bring it to perfection, for the people will never consent to what the french desire; so that I believe neither side dares speak plainly; for should the french offer what they have a mind to give, it might disgust the spaniards, and the dutch cannot make proposals, but they will inevitably disoblige their allies, so that I think we may depend upon another year's war.

“ I see you have a mind I should be in England, if possible, before the meeting of the parliament. It will be uneasy to me as things are to be here; but some officers already fearing I would take measures to leave the army as soon as possible, have represented to me, that they fear, when I am gone, the french knowing how little respect would be paid to any officer that shall be left to command, may not only attempt but succeed. However, be assured I shall turn my thoughts to be able to do what may be an ease to you. I am very sorry for what you tell me of 79 (the queen); but I am confident she esteems you more than all

* The pensionary.

the rest that talk to her, and you may imagine she is pressed by people that do not judge so well as you; so that I pity her extremely. However I hope and am sure she will always be directed by you in every thing that is good for her service."

After repeating his objections to the mission of lord Pembroke, he adds:

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Tirlemont, Sept. 2, 1705.

"I shall proceed to give you my farther thoughts on what I lately sent you from the pensioner. It is true, he seems, by his letter, to lean too much to the proposals or preliminaries for a peace; but I dare answer for him, that he is as averse from having it on those terms as we can wish, and that he is entirely in the interest of England, being persuaded that he barely relates to me in secret what he has from M. Wellandt and the pensioner of Amsterdam, who are at the head of the faction, and would willingly draw him in, without any other design than to prepare and arm me, against my coming to the Hague, to join with him and our other friends in opposing what they may offer on this subject. Now if any person should be sent to Holland, besides the jealousy it would give abroad, and which many would be glad to improve upon the first mention he makes of this matter, he would no longer trust me with the secret; and as soon as the party come to know that it is got into England, which cannot in that case be long concealed from them, they would most certainly ruin him, as being well assured it could come from no other hand but his. This would be such a blow as might go near to stagger most of our friends. Therefore I am of opinion that we take no manner of notice of it, till we have discovered more of the secret, and then, when I come to the Hague, I hope, with the assistance of our friends, I may be able entirely to break their measures, or at least so far to weaken their interest, as that it may not be in their power to carry on their designs. I shall send your letter to-morrow to the pensioner, and press him to be very exact in letting me know what farther steps these gentlemen are taking, of which I will give you an account

by the soonest; but must beg none may know it but her majesty, the prince, and Mr. Harley."

Frankfort, Nov. 1, 1705.

"At my arrival here yesterday I had the happiness of your's of the 12th. What you mention to be in the speech may do good, but at the same time I hope Mr. Secretary Harley will use such arguments to the pensioner of Amsterdam, as may convince him that this is a very improper time, as well as that England can never consent that the Indies and Spain should remain in the hands of the duke of Anjou."

CHAPTER 39.

1705.

Demolition of the french lines—Establishment of the army in the camp of Herenthals—Negotiations and arrangements—State of the war in Portugal and Spain—Capture of Barcelona—Acknowledgment of Charles in Valencia and Catalonia—State of the war in Italy—distressed situation of the duke of Savoy—His earnest application for relief—Solicitations of the imperial court for succours in men and money—Marlborough urged from all quarters to repair to Vienna—Pressing invitations from the emperor—Correspondence with the british cabinet, and negotiations with the dutch—Obtains from both governments full powers for the conclusion of his eventual arrangements, and the promise of a loan to the emperor.

IN the midst of these negotiations Marlborough had moved from Tirlemont, as soon as it was dismantled, and crossing the Demer, advanced to Aerschot. Here he remained about ten days, continuing the demolition of the lines, and giving orders for perfecting the works of Diest, Hasselt and Tongres, which were intended to cover the winter quarters. He then marched to Herenthals, where he pitched his camp on the 28th of September.

It was not only in the operations of the field that the genius of Marlborough shone with peculiar lustre: his counsels were as successful in the cabinet; and the confederates looked, with that confidence which superior abilities inspire, to his influence or advice. From the numerous failures of the last campaign, and the dangers which were apprehended in the ensuing year, the different members of the grand alliance felt that no other hand could govern the jarring motions of this extensive and complicated machinery, or direct its future operations with harmony and effect. Accordingly the camp of Herenthals became the scene of those diplomatic negotiations which influenced the fortune of

the war, and the fate of Europe. Of all the cabinets with which he maintained an intercourse, that of Vienna was the most difficult to be directed or controlled, as well from the danger which threatened on the side of Hungary, as from its inability to maintain at once the war in the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

The great services of Marlborough in forcing the lines, awakened a proper feeling in the breast of the sovereign, by whom their effects were particularly felt. But this satisfaction was not unmixed with jealousy, lest the duke should be induced by the dutch, to pursue his success in the Netherlands, instead of resuming the attack on the Moselle, recovering the austrian possessions on the Rhine, and liberating Loraine. Numerous applications from the imperial court were therefore made, both to Marlborough and the queen, pressing his return to the Moselle, promising their zealous assistance, and announcing that positive orders had been issued, both to the margrave of Baden and the german princes, to co-operate in his military plans.

In several of the letters, which Marlborough wrote during his retrograde march from Treves, he had indeed evinced a resolution of returning to the Moselle, as soon as he had restored the affairs in the Netherlands; but his short though bitter experience of the little dependence to be placed on the aid of the german princes, and the promises of the austrian cabinet, sufficed to convince him that any farther attempt in that quarter would prove hopeless.

In fact the captious conduct of the margrave of Baden was alone sufficient to discourage a more sanguine general from relying on his co-operation. We spare the reader the long correspondence which passed on this subject, between the margrave, the duke, and the imperial ministers, because two letters from the agents, who were employed at the court of Rastadt, will place the character of the german commander in its true light.

COL. BROWNE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“ Creutznach, June 23.

“ I would have taken the liberty to write to your highness

before I left Rastadt, but for the apprehension I was in of my letter's miscarriage. I well saw by the discourses of those that have most access near this prince (Louis of Baden), that the eagle would not clap but with one wing upon the Moselle. They said publicly that all the glory of any success was for your highness, but that if any miscarriage should happen, it would be for their master. Though all, even here itself, believe his distemper a bespoken sickness, yet I can assure your grace he is very ill; for I did contrive it so that I was by at his dressing the day he turned back, saw his wound or hurt, and the inflammation of his leg, and it is very bad. The courier that brought his orders here last night, says he is worse at the waters near Mentz, and that his princess and son are come to him there, but he will mend sooner by being upon the Rhine, than had we staid upon the Moselle; at least it is my belief."

The second letter is from colonel Durel, who had been dispatched to Vienna, to complain of the lukewarmness manifested by the german commander, and on his return was charged with orders enjoining that prince to co-operate in the plans of Marlborough with all his disposable force.

"Frankfort, June 22, 1705."

"Yesterday, at three o'clock, I waited on the prince of Baden with your grace's letter. I staid almost three hours, by my watch, before I could be admitted, which delay lost me the whole night's riding, being obliged to wait the opening of the gates of this place. I acquainted the prince with all the particulars your grace commanded me, namely, with the disposition of the troops you left. I desired him to correspond often with you, and to give your grace from time to time an account of matters. He did already know his troops had received bread and oats at Traerbach. He says he has very great pains in his leg; I believe it, because he tells me so. I desired, after having assured him of your grace's services, that he would, as much as in him lay, prepare all things, to be in readiness to act within four or five weeks towards Saar Louis, in case the principles of war would so allow it. He said he would. I pressed him farther to acquaint

your grace, as I was commanded to let you know exactly, what number of troops he should be able to act with, and by what time they might be depended upon; also what number of them he would leave behind. He gave me a general answer, that he would always act for the best, and hoped you would always believe he was your friend and servant; and that when things were once again settled, and a new disposition made, he would be wanting in nothing. I desired him, when that disposition should be made, that then, if the case required it, he would march directly from where he then should be, towards Homburg and St. Wendel, to which he said neither yes nor no; for he pretends that if he had done it sixteen days ago, the enemy was so posted as to have cut him off. Your grace is judge of this matter. As for the rest, he is resolved to facilitate all things relating to the common good. God send it."

As it was evident that the margrave would never submit to associate with a colleague, whose merit was likely to eclipse his own, attempts were privately made by the british cabinet to supersede him in the command. Lord Sunderland was accordingly ordered, on his arrival at Vienna, to insist on his immediate dismissal, as the only measure which could afford the prospect of success in Germany. But in this attempt they had ill calculated on the situation and views of the german court, the protection which the margrave derived from his relative, the prince of Salme, the prime minister, and the countenance of the jesuits. Much justification and recrimination passed on both sides; but in the midst of this cabinet intrigue, he vindicated his reputation by his operations in Alsace. After suffering the french to seize Homburg, and evading every proposal of co-operation with the duke in any quarter, or for any object, he suddenly roused himself from his apathy, in the beginning of September, and displayed his wonted skill and enterprise, by surprising Drusenheim, forcing the lines of Haguenau, and blockading Fort Louis. This exploit, as brilliant as it was unexpected, was instantly made the theme of applause by his adherents at Vienna, and removed the prejudice which his past misconduct had inspired. Marlborough saw the

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consequence of this change of sentiment in the court, and not only desisted from his representations, but also prevailed on the british cabinet to relinquish a hopeless attempt; and concentrating his principal attention on the Netherlands, left the management of the military affairs in Germany, to the court of Vienna, the empire, and its generals.

He found indeed sufficient occupation in directing his own military arrangements, and superintending the conduct of the war and the political business in other parts of Europe.

In Spain and Portugal the confederate arms were eminently successful. Gibraltar, after a long and arduous siege, had been relieved by an english fleet, and the spanish troops, under marshal Tessé, disgracefully retired from the blockade.*

In Portugal the campaign had opened with more than usual activity, arising chiefly from lord Galway, whose spirit seemed to infuse energy into the Portuguese. Towards the beginning of May, a combined army of 24,000 men, under the nominal command of the portuguese general, Don Miguel de Cardona, but under the real direction of Galway, assembled in the vicinity of Estremos, burst over the frontier of Alemtejo, and meeting with no enemy in the field, carried Valencia de Alcantara by storm, and forced Albuquerque to surrender. During this successful irruption, Das Minas, the portuguese commander in Beira, took Salvaterra and plundered Secca; but being awed by the advance of a superior force, retired to Peñamacos.

The approach of the summer heats, however, soon reduced the troops of both provinces to their wonted inactivity ; and a letter from lord Galway, which was transmitted by Godolphin to Marlborough, convinced both the general and treasurer that no farther efforts were to be expected in Portugal, till the return of a more temperate season.

“ My lord ;

"Lisbon, July 13, 1705.

" I ought to apprise you, that in the last conference,

* Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, Chapter 12.

they warmly maintained that it was not possible to take the field in this country, either this summer or autumn. This was openly the advice of the duke of Cadaval; the count of Alvar spoke in the same manner, but in general M. Fagell supported the opinion by finding difficulties in all the projects which could be proposed. The marquis of Alagrete himself appeared uncertain. They have deferred examining any proposition till the marquis das Minas, and the count d'Atalaya are here. They have been ordered to come. I see very well that they expressly delay entering on business, in order that when it shall be time to take the field, nothing shall be ready, and that the rains may serve as an excuse to prevent the troops from marching. However I will lose no time; I will press so much that I will force them to do something, or to declare that they will not do it. I send you a copy of the memorial, which I am resolved to send to-morrow to the king, if I cannot deliver it to him myself.—The departure of the king of Spain disturbs them. The illness of the king of Portugal augments, and gives occasion to many intrigues. If this misfortune (meaning his death) arrives, there is great appearance that the duke of Cadaval will be master; then nothing will keep the Portuguese in our interests but fear, and nothing terrifies them so much as our fleet. Besides the other reasons which I have taken the liberty to allege to you to have it winter, at least the greater part, this last is not to be despised."

In these circumstances Marlborough strongly recommended that an expedition, composed of the troops which remained useless in Portugal, should sail from Lisbon and assist the duke of Savoy, by a diversion in the vicinity of Nice, carry the war into Andalusia, by an attack on Cadiz, or effect a debarkation on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, where the natives were ripe for a revolution.

During this season of inactivity, the dutch and english fleets had arrived at Lisbon with considerable reinforcements. That of England conveyed 5,000 men, under the eccentric but gallant earl of Peterborough, who had been recommended as the leader of this enterprise, by Marlborough. By a singular mark of confidence in

the government, he was associated in the command of the fleet with the admiral, Sir Cloudesly Shovel, and thus was enabled to infuse his undaunted spirit into the sailors as well as soldiers, and to excite both to deeds of chivalrous warfare.

After several councils of war and numerous consultations, private intelligence from Catalonia induced the austrian prince, who was anxious to realise his pretensions to the crown of Spain, to make an attempt against Barcelona, in which city he was apprised that his partisans were bold and numerous. To the 5,000 troops recently arrived, lord Galway added two regiments from his own force, and the fleet sailed from Lisbon with Charles on board.

Touching at Gibraltar, three more regiments were embarked, together with the guards, who had recently distinguished themselves in the defence of the place; and the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who possessed extensive connexions in Catalonia, joined the expedition as a volunteer. While the squadron lay off Valencia, the inhabitants of Altea raised the austrian standard; the neighbouring town of Denia followed the example; and the royal garrison surrendering without opposition, Charles was acknowledged king of Spain with the usual formalities. Emboldened by this success, the fleet sailed onwards, and on the 22nd the armament disembarked in the bay of Barcelona, and set down before the capital, though without the smallest hopes of surprising, or taking a city strongly fortified, and defended by a garrison more numerous than the assailants. But what could not be effected by regular approaches, was accomplished by the chivalrous spirit of the earl of Peterborough. With unparalleled address and secrecy he arranged a plan of attack. Affecting to be discouraged by insurmountable difficulties, he began to re-embark his troops; but having lulled the enemy into security, he in the middle of the night, with a chosen band of 800 men, assaulted the fort of Montjuich, which commanded Barcelona, and carried it by storm, to the surprise both of those who attacked, and of those who defended the place. We give the account of this singular exploit, in the characteristic language of the

hero himself, in two letters, one to his wife, and the other to the duchess of Marlborough.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO HIS LADY.

“October 6.—I can now give you joy upon taking Barcelona, which is effected. I can modestly say such an attempt was never made by such a handful of men. We have taken, in three days, the castle of Montjuich, sword in hand, that resisted 30,000 men three months. There were five hundred men in it. We marched with a thousand men thirteen hours, and with scaling ladders took a place upon a rock, much stronger than Portsmouth, and had but eight hundred men, two having lost us in the night. This enterprise, which some people would reckon impossible or rash, will save many thousand lives. I was forced to lead them on with the prince of Hesse, who was killed; I escaped without hurt, though both my aid-de-camps were much wounded. I would rather you should hear of this earlier from others than myself.”

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

“October 29.—If some few I esteem and respect are as much pleased, as our enemies are surprised and made uneasy, I would desire no more. I know the good nature of England, especially towards the month of November, but I hope at least they will find no fault.

“The ceremony is now over; and we have two kings acknowledged in Spain. Give me leave to say, if I had now two hundred thousand pounds, I would be answerable for our being, madam, possessed, in a month's time, of the better part of all Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon; but our coarse english proverb is too true, “there is no making brick without straw.

“Had it not been for the impatience I am under to justify to the world the countenance and good opinion you were pleased to honour me with, I never durst have entered into those measures, which brought the king hither. But knowing the ill state of things in Portugal, and the prospect not answering elsewhere, I thought a retrieve was necessary for resolutions out of the common road.

I have met with great difficulties, but expect greater.—This letter goes by Italy, only to assure your grace of my eternal gratitude and respect, and to recommend the whole to your care and protection. I lay this enterprise at your door, my lady duchess: if we are sustained in time, and as we ought, I hope you will not be ashamed to own it. But, madam, we are far off (though I hope not forgotten). I can now assure your grace I am of the side of the church: no doubt sir Edward Seymour will make haste to help me, and I think we have met with miracles in our favour. But we are poorer than church rats; and miracles cannot save us long, without money, and a quick and vigorous assistance.”

The capture of Montjuich was the prelude to the surrender of Barcelona itself. On the 9th of October, king Charles entered the city in triumph, and was hailed by the inhabitants, as their legitimate sovereign, and as their deliverer from the detested yoke of the Bourbons.

Every measure was adopted to maintain this conquest, and spread the revolution through the neighbouring kingdoms of Murcia, Valencia, and Aragon. Barcelona was placed in a state of defence; the inhabitants enrolled and disciplined; six native regiments were embodied; and numerous flying corps, composed of the enterprising mountaineers, at once maintained the tranquillity of the conquered district, and contributed to foment the spirit of insurrection in the adjoining countries. Thus the war was, at length, established on spanish ground, and the example of one of those kingdoms into which the peninsula was divided, portended a new and successful revolution, in favour of the austrian dynasty, under which Spain had attained such an height of glory.

This success, though as brilliant as unexpected, seemed to create new sources of difficulty and want. The maritime powers, who had strained their efforts to an unusual pitch in the attempt, could not supply resources to prosecute it with the same spirit; while the court of Vienna, whose zealous co-operation all parties expected, was too much exhausted by its own struggles on one hand against its insurgent subjects, and on the other against the common enemy, to make those exertions and furnish those

supplies which the urgency of the case required. Thus another burthen was thrown upon the maritime powers; Marlborough was involved in new embarrassments; and beheld with regret fresh causes of incessant disputes with the court of Vienna.

But it was in Italy that the foresight of Marlborough had to struggle with the greatest and most complicated difficulties. Perpetual contests subsisted between the courts of Vienna and Turin. The new emperor Joseph was no less averse than his predecessor to increase the power of the duke of Savoy by any promise, even of eventual dismemberments from the Milanese; while Victor Amadeus was equally watchful to enlarge his territorial possessions, and to extort from the fears of the house of Austria, what he could not obtain from their gratitude.

The emperor, occupied in quelling the rebellion in Hungary, could not easily find sufficient resources to conduct the war in Italy, on that scale which Marlborough thought necessary to ensure success, and consequently the duke of Savoy was almost left to his own means, to struggle against the attacks of the Bourbon armies. He indeed had been assisted by a force of 13,000 men, but these were gradually diminished to half their number; and though harmony and unanimity were doubly requisite in this trying crisis, perpetual disputes arose between the duke and the imperial general. Their contentions even spread with a disastrous effect among their respective troops.

During the winter of 1704, the brave defence of Verrua had checked the progress of the french, and delayed the meditated attack on Turin, the reduction of which would have ensured the subjugation of Italy, and left the duke of Savoy nothing but an empty title. The important interval had been employed by Marlborough in endeavouring to draw from other quarters that aid which the court of Vienna could not supply. With this view he had obtained from Prussia an auxiliary force of 8,000 men, whose junction had enabled Eugene to maintain his advantages. But as the treaty was now on the point of expiring, and as the king of Prussia from resentment against the court of Vienna for repelling his claims, had declared his resolution of

withdrawing his troops, the affairs of Italy seemed likely to relapse into the same dangerous state as at the termination of the last campaign.

At length the manly defence of Verrua drew to a close, after an investment of eight months. On the 10th of April the garrison blew up the fortifications, and surrendered to the french. The duke of Savoy fell back to Chivasso, to retard as long as possible the advance of the enemy; but could not long defend that small yet important post, with a discouraged and diminished army. The peril of his situation is well depicted by Mr. Hill, in one of his letters to the duke of Marlborough:

“ His royal highness and count Stahremberg are uneasy to each other in their present condition. I do not reckon that Stahremberg hath above 1,500 foot, and as many horse left: the duke has not many more of his own men fit for service. Count Stahremberg is contriving to be gone to Vienna: they are not more satisfied with prince Eugene, who makes war in his own way, and communicates nothing here, as we see, for the defence of Piedmont, where we are at the mercy of 40 french battalions and 50 squadrons. When Chivasso falls, if La Feuillade is not obliged, by prince Eugene's successes in Lombardy, to send a detachment to the duke of Vendome, we are capable here of taking some desperate resolution, for we cannot garrison Turin.”

Amidst these accumulated misfortunes, the duke of Savoy had placed his last hope on the co-operation of the british armament, under the command of lord Peterborough, which he was led to believe was now on its way towards the coast of the Mediterranean. This descent he contemplated as the only chance of salvation, as it would compel the french to drain their forces in Italy, for the protection of Dauphine and Provence. Despairing, however, at length, of the long expected succours, which unknown to him had been diverted to another quarter, his wonted firmness forsook him, and he appeared to listen unto the repeated overtures of the enemy. The british envoy, Mr. Hill, who watched all the movements of his mind, thus expressed his apprehensions:

“ I was under great disquiet for fifteen days; for the wonderful

inoffensiveness of the enemy, the anxiety of the duke of Savoy, the inaction of prince Eugene, the solicitations of the french, the violence of our situation, and the tenderness of a wife and children, with many other appearances which I have observed, made me fear, that we were taking measures for the safety of Turin."

Before he closed the letter, he added a remark, which indicated his extreme uncertainty.

"I am a little more at ease to day. We are convinced that La Feuillade can do us no harm, and we begin to hope that your grace or prince Eugene will not leave the enemy at liberty to besiege us at the end of the campaign."

Fortunately, at this crisis of despondency and alarm, the advance of prince Eugene afforded a momentary gleam of hope. After long hovering on the frontiers of Lombardy, he was joined by the 8,000 prussians, whom Marlborough had subsidised. With this accession of force, he suddenly descended from the Trentine Alps, opened a passage along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, traversed the Oglio, and advanced towards the Adda, with a view of forcing the passage, and forming a junction with the duke of Savoy; but his efforts were foiled by the arrival of Vendome with considerable reinforcements. The movements of Eugene to cross the Adda or the Po, and the counter movements of the french general to retard the junction, brought on the short but desperate battle of Cassano, in which both parties claimed the victory. Marlborough, who received an account of the engagement from prince Eugene, augured little of the result, as we find from his letter to Godolphin:

"August 27. I send Mr. Secretary Harley a letter and relation I received last night from prince Eugene. I wish the advantage were more considerable; however, I have ordered the army to be in battle to-morrow, and shall fire all our cannon and small shot three times.*

As little did it raise the hopes of the duke of Savoy, who thus describes his feelings and situation.

* The letter and relation to which he refers, are printed in the History of Europe for 1705.

THE DUKE OF SAVOY TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“ Turin, August 26th, 1705.

After congratulating his grace on his success in forcing the french lines, he continues :

“ I expected, as you did, at least a powerful diversion, in consequence of the battle of the imperialists in Lombardy ; but the action, though advantageous, has not facilitated our junction.

“ The sole resource which remains to me is, in the arrival of the fleet at Nice, which I confidently expect, in consequence of the assurances from her britannic majesty. I have not, however, any intelligence from the earl of Peterborough, although I have several times written to him. There are no other means to deliver me from my present danger than the arrival of this fleet, the debarkation of the troops, and their advance into Piedmont, where they must stay the winter, in order to be re-equipped in the spring, and may save this country, which I have so long sacrificed for the public good, and for the glory of her majesty's arms. I have warmly supplicated the queen, and I may depend on her powerful support, which alone can preserve me from ruin, and enable me to continue my exertions for the advantage of the common cause, and for her glorious designs.

“ Your friendship for me, and your zeal for the glory of her majesty's arms, and the good of the league, induce me to believe that you will readily use your efforts in procuring me this assistance.”

But although the french had foiled the desperate attempt of Eugene, the result of the engagement proved more advantageous than the parties most interested in its success had at first presumed to hope. Eugene continued to maintain himself in that part of Italy ; and establishing his troops at the foot of the mountains, between the Lago di Garda, and the Adda, he held the french army in check, and suspended the fate of Piedmont. He thus gave time to Marlborough to allay the jealousy between the courts of Turin and Vienna, and to devise means for a more vigorous exertion in Italy the ensuing campaign. Indeed it required all the influence and zeal of the british com-

mander, and the full force of his conciliating manners and knowledge of character, to allay the mutual dissatisfaction of two princes, whose very safety depended on their union. At this moment the jealousy between the duke of Savoy and Stahremberg burst into an open rupture, which almost terminated in their separation; and it was not without extreme difficulty that Mr. Hill succeeded in suspending the dispute, till reference could be made to the court of Vienna.

From a view of the preceding transactions, it was evident that no other power except Austria, was in a situation to save the duke of Savoy; but Austria itself was wanting in means to make an efficient effort, and both Eugene and the imperial ministers earnestly pressed for immediate succours in men and money, to prevent the subjugation of Italy. In the general dismay and embarrassment, every eye was turned to Marlborough, as the person who could alone devise resources, to obviate the pressing difficulties, and restore that spirit and unanimity, without which, success was unattainable. From all quarters he was entreated to repair to Vienna, with the hope that his interposition at the imperial court would produce the same happy effects as on other occasions.

No one, however, better appreciated the necessity of his presence than the emperor himself, from whom we find two pressing letters of invitation, written with his usual courtesy and condescension.

THE EMPEROR JOSEPH TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“Sept. 6.—Most illustrious cousin and dearest prince;

“You have given so many proofs of zeal for my august house and the common good, that I very easily persuade myself you will readily embrace whatever may conduce to the prosecution of the present difficult, but necessary war. You will understand that nothing can contribute more to this end than to ascertain the sentiments of the confederates, as early as possible this winter, in order to resolve with secrecy what is to be undertaken by their united forces against the common enemy next spring; and from the many proofs I have received of your good affection, I promise

myself, that though the journey hither be long, you will gladly undertake it for the common good. In the mean time I will use all possible endeavours to get all that is necessary for the war in readiness. Recruits are already raising in my hereditary kingdoms and provinces; and I expect from my states a sum of money proportionate to their abilities; the necessary generals shall be also ready to assist at this council. I persuade myself, your most serene queen and the States General will be in no way wanting to this good end, since there is great hope that matters being thus disposed, the next expedition may be as fortunate to the arms of the allies, as the last, by the influence of the queen and States, and by your conduct, was glorious, and fatal to the enemy.

“And so I do again repeat my assurances of my most kind affection to you. Vienna, 6th Sept., 1705.*

“Sept. 27.—Most illustrious cousin and dearest prince;

“Although I do not doubt but you have fully understood from my last letter, the desire I had to deliberate with you here in person, and particularly to confer with you on the operations of the next campaign; yet such is the weight and consequence of this affair, that I cannot conceal from you, that as your presence is the chief hinge on which the main stress of the war now turns, so the greatest part of my consolation, as well as the life and hopes of the confederates depend thereon. I cannot deny that your most serene queen will very soon have occasion for the presence of so great a man; yet I have no reason to doubt that her generosity will readily spare so little a time as this journey will take up, to me and the common cause. The delay will be amply recompensed by the advantage of the counsels, which from your great prudence and experience, you will be able to give. I do therefore again kindly entreat you to undertake this journey, notwithstanding it may seem somewhat troublesome; and to embrace this opportunity of adding new lustre to your name, already so renowned through the world, and augmenting the many and great obligations you have laid on my august family and the common cause of the allies.

* Official translation in the Marlborough Papers.

“ I conclude with constant assurances of my most kind affection. At Vienna, the 27th Sept., 1705.”

“ P. S.—I refer you, for the rest, to what count Wratislaw will communicate to you on my part, not deeming it expedient to insert it in this letter. I merely intend by these lines to renew my sentiments of friendship and esteem, and to notify to you the great obligation you will confer on me, if you will repair to this place; as without your presence, nothing that may be concerted for the approaching campaign can be good.”*

The letter from count Wratislaw, to which the emperor alludes, stated that the duke of Marlborough was invited to Vienna, to settle the arrangements for the ensuing campaign, as for want of proper concert, the fruits of the preceding operations had been lost. He added, that application had been made to the queen and the States General, not only for permission to undertake the journey, but to confide to him such powers as would suffice for the conclusion and execution of whatever should be arranged.

Another motive for his journey was derived from the captious spirit of the king of Prussia, and his dissatisfaction with the court of Vienna, whom he accused of treating him with contempt, and not paying due attention to his claims. On this account he had already notified his intention of recalling the 8,000 troops, whom he had sent to the confederate army in Italy. His prussian majesty likewise complained of the dutch, for not paying the arrears, due as their share in the subsidies, for the service of the prussian auxiliaries. Indeed he had already earnestly pressed the duke to re-visit Berlin, with the hope of profiting by his advice, and had testified to lord Raby his anxiety to receive, again, as his guest, the illustrious general, whom he declared to be the most agreeable man he ever knew. A letter written by Marlborough to Godolphin, during his journey, will spare any farther explanation :

“ *Frankfort, Nov. 2nd.*

“ Since my last I have received the inclosed paper from Berlin,

* Translation from the original document in the Marlborough Papers, in latin, and the postscript in french.

as also a great many more demands which that court makes at the Hague, an account of which I do not doubt but you have from Mr. Stanhope. The king has desired me to press the emperor, that he might have satisfaction on his last demands. I know the emperor is not in a condition to give him satisfaction, nor do I think his demands reasonable; but I shall endeavour that they may give him a great many good words. On the other side, I do not think the dutch are willing to pay those arrears he insists upon from them, so that I am jealous of his making these demands to give him some colour for not signing the treaty as he promised me; for they have at this time great projects of private advantage, by the disorders that may happen in the North. However, I have writ to Mr. Stanhope, to press all he can the signature of the treaty at the Hague. But for fear that I should not succeed, I should be glad the queen would write an obliging letter to him, in which she will acquaint him that she has ordered me to return by Berlin, to give him assurances of her friendship, and to sign the treaty for the 8,000 men in Italy. I desire this letter, by the next post, may be sent to lord Raby, to give me at my arrival there; for the king writes me word that he had ordered his ambassador to ask of her majesty, that I may return by Berlin, as also I am sure the emperor will be very anxious I should return that way, he having many disputes with that court."

Marlborough was likewise earnestly solicited by pensionary Heinsius and his friends in Holland, to visit the two courts, for the purpose of allaying the subsisting feuds, and justifying the proceedings of the dutch government.

Several minor considerations also rendered his presence necessary at Vienna. We have already noticed the jealousy of the imperial court at the interference of the british cabinet in the affairs of Hungary, notwithstanding an appeal had been made to their mediation. This jealousy was increased by the avowed attachment of lord Sunderland to the principles of freedom, which excited a strong suspicion, lest he should favour the republican

spirit of the hungarian insurgents, and press the guaranty of the maritime powers, to such an accommodation as was inconsistent with the honour of the crown, and the tranquillity of the country.

On these subjects count Wratislaw feelingly describes the apprehensions of the imperial cabinet, and at the same time avows his own personal and political antipathy to Mr. Stepney.

“Vienna, July 19.”

“We daily expect the arrival of lord Sunderland, and I flatter myself that as he is gone to your army, you will give him the necessary information on the affairs of Hungary. I will render him all the service in my power, as well from the friendship I feel for him, as from his connections with you. But I cannot conceal my apprehensions from your highness; for when you compare the language of Mr. Stepney at the army last year, with the principles and character of lord Sunderland, I must dread his inclinations to establish a species of republic in Hungary. You know that such an arrangement would not accord with the government here, still less with the temper of our master; and since we must consider Hungary as one of our most valuable possessions, we shall never be inclined to accept conditions of a nature, more calculated to breed new troubles than to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom. The acceptance of the mediation of the two powers plainly proves our sincerity, and the conclusion of the treaty will display our moderation. But in truth it is a matter of the utmost alarm, should our allies force us to accept a guaranty, which considered merely as a point of honour, is an affair of the greatest consequence, though not sufficiently appreciated in England; since no sovereign has ever admitted the guaranty of a foreign power between him and his subjects. As it is likewise to be feared that this revolt will not be the last among a people so volatile as the hungarians, and a guaranty being once established, is it not possible that on some future occasion, that of the Ottoman Porte or some other dangerous neighbour may be required? I entreat you then, my lord, to reflect on this, and to soften by your influence the republican zeal of lord Sunderland,

hoping your remonstrances will have a greater effect upon him in the affairs of Hungary, than they have sometimes had in those of England.

“ P. S. I again repeat my apprehensions on the subject of lord Sunderland, for Mr. Stepney will inflame him as much as possible; and as his lordship is naturally devoted to the liberty of the people, he will perhaps act with more warmth than he ought. I will serve him to the utmost of my power; but if I find him too much swayed by the influence of Mr. Stepney, I will give myself no farther trouble.”

“ July 30.—The departure of Mr. Richards gives me an opportunity of renewing my respects to you, and of informing you that baron de Sirmay is sent to apprise the hungarians that his imperial majesty has ordered his generals to publish an armistice for eight days, and to keep his troops on this side the Danube, provided the insurgents will remain on the other side of the Waag. He has also announced his intention of agreeing to a congress, to ascertain whether they are really disposed to conclude a peace. We expect an answer with great impatience. Doubtless Mr. Stepney will give you an ample detail of all proceedings, and you will also have received intelligence that this court has acquiesced in all the proposals of the mediators.”

In a postscript he adds, with his own hand :

“ If we proceed to a congress, probably my master will employ me, although I shall endeavour to excuse myself, for many reasons. Should I be appointed, I will strive to pacify the troubles, and there is no reasonable condition which I will not press this court to accept. I say reasonable, but I frankly declare to you that I dread the republican principles of lord Sunderland, and the malicious spirit of Mr. Stepney, whom England has, by an unfortunate fatality, associated with lord Sunderland in the mediation. I cannot readily forgive you for this nomination, for you were too well acquainted with his opinions not to be convinced that he is not calculated to mediate to our advantage; and it is a mistake to suppose that we can be forced to yield to unreasonable propositions. I beg leave to give you previous notice of an

intention, on the part of the mediators, to propose a continuation of the armistice on the termination of the eight days. Moreover I will serve lord Sunderland to the utmost of my power for promoting the military operations; and I believe that we shall agree more readily in that point than in the negotiation with the hungarians; since if he hopes to establish a republic in Hungary he will not succeed; and he will not find me a whig to that degree. But I must tell you at the same time, that we will do nothing unless all the fortresses, with Waradin and Transylvania are included in the armistice; because we yielded to the pressing solicitations of the mediators for an armistice, merely with a view to provision the fortresses and save both."

The confidence which the known integrity and discretion of Marlborough inspired, could alone remove the suspicions of the imperial court, and soothe the irritated feelings of count Wratislaw, on whose cordiality so much depended; and we find even lord Sunderland himself joining in the common request for his immediate presence at Vienna.

"I hope her majesty has by this time given her leave that lord Marlborough may come hither; for if we are to continue the war (as every honest man that is in his wits in England and Holland, I believe thinks we must), I am sure his coming is absolutely necessary; for without it, every thing will be in greater confusion than this year. And I am confident that if he does come, there is nothing in the power of this court that he will not persuade them to."*

Though anxious to terminate his laborious pilgrimage on the continent and to return to England, Marlborough could not resist these pressing instances, and he transmitted the emperor's letters to the queen and Godolphin, frankly stating his doubts and reluctance, yet testifying his acquiescence in their decision. He at the same time declared his resolution not to undertake the journey, unless he could obtain, as well from the States as from England, full powers to conclude the arrangements, which he might deem advantageous to the common cause.

* Lord Sunderland to lord Godolphin, Vienna, Sept. 26-Oct. 7, 1705.

“ At my arrival here,” he observes, “ I found the inclosed letters from Vienna. Her majesty’s pleasure is what shall govern me in this as well as in every thing else. My opinion is, that if I should go, and I have not power from the States, that what I concert shall be performed, the journey would only be troublesome to me, and of no use to the public. If it should be thought necessary for me to go, you must reckon that I cannot go in less than eleven days, and I must have as many to come back, and I believe three days there, so that the whole will bring me one month later into England. Besides I do really think I shall not have resolution enough to serve the next year.

“ This request of the emperor’s is very opposite to your kind desire of having me early in England this year. Whilst I am fit for any thing, the queen and you shall dispose of me, in hopes that when you shall see that I am worn to nothing, you will allow of my being quiet ; for at this time I am so extremely lean that it is uneasy to me when I am in bed.”

On mature reflection the british cabinet saw the pressing necessity of the case, and the treasurer, though with reluctance, conveyed to Marlborough the sanction of the queen, and the approbation of the cabinet.

Marlborough had yet, however, to obviate many difficulties arising from the cold calculations of the minister of finance, and the no less parsimonious spirit of the dutch republic.

The primary object which it was necessary to attain, preparatory to his journey, was a positive assurance that the court of Vienna should be promptly gratified with the loan required for the equipment of the italian army. Godolphin, however, regarded this point with the scruples of a financier rather than with the eye of a statesman ; and instead of meeting the difficulty, employed himself in starting objections to the mode of obtaining the supply, and required the imperial court, which was evidently impracticable, to send forward their troops before the money was advanced.

“ Windsor, Sept. 11-20.

“ I find by the letter of the States to you, they think it necessary something should be done to set them right again in the opinion of their people ; and the vigour they have lately shewn in

their letters and resolution upon the duke of Savoy's instances, seems to be a great confirmation of this reflection. I hope, however, that Savoy will be relieved entirely by prince Eugene's efforts, or by the diversion, which I think the enterprise upon Barcelona must give the enemy, without the troops from our fleet, which can neither possibly be spared from their other affairs, nor come so soon to their relief as the succour expected even from the emperor. But this consideration makes it still more necessary that all possible endeavours should be used to hasten that succour; yet if the troops designed for that service cannot march till they have money from England and Holland, upon the loan proposed from Germany, it is not possible to think such a loan can be adjusted without sending backwards and forwards between us and Holland; and yet it is certain if the troops do not march *incessamment*, they can never come in time. The most effectual way, therefore, to compass this loan, would be to send away the troops which are to be supported by it, immediately: and the hearing they were actually upon their march, might perhaps prevail for this loan; whereas otherwise, both England and Holland will be under the discouragement of thinking that if they should lend their money, it will come too late to give effectual assistance to the duke of Savoy."

" *St. James's, 13th Sept., 1705.*

"As to the loan desired by the court of Vienna for enabling the emperor to send more troops to prince Eugene, I believe the queen will not decline to bear her part in it, for so necessary a service, in case the States approve and are desirous; though, considering what was done last year for the empire, and how great her majesty's expense has been this year, for the interests of the house of Austria, it does not seem extremely reasonable to expect it from her, especially when count Wratislaw knows as well as we that all the funds given by the parliament are appropriated to particular uses, and if they were not, these are always all assigned away before this time of year."

Nor did the minister of finance content himself with starting objections to the proposal. Habitually prejudiced against the house of

Austria, he was highly indignant at the delays and negligence, which in his opinion the cabinet of Vienna had manifested in the course of the campaign. In this spirit he received the formal application of the imperial court, for succours in men and money, with studied coldness, and when at length a reply was extorted, it was written in terms of unusual acrimony. This irritating document roused the resentment of the emperor; and count Wratislaw complained to Marlborough, that the minister of finance appeared to conceive the rescue of the duke of Savoy might be effected, by invectives against the court of Vienna. The emperor himself did not condescend to give a written reply, but stated through his ministers, that his care and attention had rather deserved praise than reproach from the allies; and requested that in future such replies should not be given in writing, because they would remain as public documents in the archives.

Marlborough felt that decision was as necessary in this political arrangement as in the operations of the field. Instead of listening to the petty scruples of his friend, the treasurer, or contemplating the more serious obstacles, which arose in his way, he steadily persisted in his purpose, and not only extorted from the british cabinet such powers as were necessary for the perfect accomplishment of his project, but exacted a promise that they would consent to the loan, and advance the first payment in October.* He was equally pressing for a similar engagement from the States. "If I have not assurances from the dutch," he writes to the duchess, "that what I promise shall be made good, my journey can only be a trouble to myself, and of no use to the public. But if they would trust me, I think I could then take such measures with the emperor, that the next year's campaign might be much the better for my going. I will however have no opinion in this matter, but pay obedience to what is directed."

To attain this object he did not rely on distant negotiation, which he was conscious could only produce delay; but repaired to the Hague, that by his personal exertions he might overrule the

* Secretary Harley to the duke of Marlborough, September.

formalities of the dutch government. He immediately held conferences with the pensionary, the president of the week, and other leading members of the republic, and obtained their consent to extend his powers, as far as their constitution would permit, without the usual tedious appeal to the decision of the different provinces. He also extorted a similar acquiescence, with regard to the proposed loan, of which the dutch were to guaranty one third.

He was equally successful in combating the fallacious overtures of France, and appealed with effect to the feelings of shame and disappointment, which the patriotic party felt for the late misconduct of their deputies and generals, and their anxiety to make amends for the former failures. By his skilful management of the passions of those with whom he had to negotiate, he thus attained all his objects, and departed with the full assurance that he should be supported by all the energy of the dutch government.

During this short interval of his stay, his departure from the army was no less deeply felt than his appearance at the Hague. "In his absence," says an eye witness, "we were a body without a soul. The french having thrown down a little of their line, and laid bridges over the Nethe for convenience of forage, we were in perpetual alarms, as if an inferior dispirited army would leave their lines, because the duke had left us."

Returning to the camp, he again moved on the 20th of October, and marched through Vlimmen to Campthout, where the army took up a position to cover the siege of Sandvliet, a fort on the Scheldt, the garrison of which had harassed the inhabitants of Zealand with frequent incursions. From hence the duke repaired to examine the preparations, and give directions for the attack; and at the same time the place was invested by a detachment under the count de Noyelles. Campthout was the last camp which he occupied this campaign; for on the 22nd of October he finally quitted the army, leaving the command to Overkirk, to finish the siege, and distribute the troops into quarters.

CHAPTER 40.

1705.

Continuation of the struggle for the transfer of the great seal—Opposition of the queen—Increasing strength of the whigs in the new elections—Appeal of the queen to Marlborough, and his reply—Cowper appointed lord keeper—Meeting of Parliament—Choice of a whig Speaker—Speech from the throne—Parliamentary proceedings, and party bickerings.

HAVING closed the military operations, settled his journey to Vienna, and finished his negotiations at the Hague, the duke was employed during his continuance at Herenthals, in completing the new arrangements in the british cabinet, and in giving consistency to that system which he and the treasurer had adopted.

On his departure from England, the intention of Godolphin and himself was, to suffer the two parties to struggle for the new elections, without any interference from the court, concluding that when thus left to their own strength, they would be nearly balanced, and the queen would be enabled to turn the scale to either side. In reply to one of the importunate letters from the duchess, pressing him to support the whigs, he observes:

“Hague, April.

“You nor any body living can wish more for the having a good parliament than I do, but we may differ in our notions. I will own to you very freely mine; which is, that I think at this time it is for the queen’s service, and the good of England, that the choice might be such as that neither party might have a great majority, so that her majesty might be able to influence what might be good for the common interest.”

He gives the same advice, and employs the same arguments, in his letters to the queen and Godolphin, and appears to calculate confidently on the success of this scheme.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“ July 6-17. The composition of the parliament seems to be such, that neither party can carry any point against the other by their own strength. One sort of gentlemen have behaved themselves so, that there remains very little room for debate which the queen should make her's. The care seems to be only, that she may not be in the power of a party ; for there are indifferent and unlisted men enough, who will be content and zealous to promote the queen's affairs, though they see persons of a different party from themselves employed ; but though they will be content to see the queen govern, it will be uneasy to them to see a party govern. But I doubt not care will be taken to satisfy every person that deserves it.”

He found, however, to his surprise, that he had been mistaken in his calculations, and that the unpopularity of the tories enabled the whigs to gain a considerable superiority. Thus circumstanced, he and Godolphin were compelled to incline still more to that party, whose ascendancy they had hitherto promoted, less from inclination, than from necessity.

The struggle for the removal of Sir Nathan Wright, which had continued in suspense since the spring, was now renewed with redoubled warmth, and lord Godolphin promoted it with a degree of zeal, which could only have been prompted by the embarrassments of his situation. Continued difficulties, however, arose, from the aversion of the queen to confide to a zealous whig an office which exercised such patronage in the church, and such extensive influence over the civil administration. All the representations of Godolphin proving fruitless, the duchess of Marlborough was next induced to interfere. With persuasion and argument, she blended the most bitter invectives and reproaches for the queen's aversion to the whigs, and her infatuation in favour of the tories. These letters, many of which are printed in the

Conduct, will shew the vehement tone of remonstrance, which the favourite assumed; and we shall scarcely be surprised to find that this dispute increased the alienation which had already taken place in the mind of her royal mistress. Indeed the duchess herself, in one of her manuscript narratives, remarked that the first peevish letter she ever received from the queen, was on this occasion.

Marlborough could not remain an indifferent spectator of the struggle. Though convinced that the meditated change was indispensable, he knew the difficulty of conquering prejudices which education and habit had inspired, and sincerely sympathised in the anxiety of his royal mistress. To Godolphin he writes:

“Aug 27. I am very sorry for what you tell me of the queen; but I am confident she esteems you more than all the rest that talk to her, and you may imagine she is pressed by people that do not judge so well as you, and I pity her extremely. However, I hope, and am sure she will always be directed by you in every thing that is good for her service.”

Still, however, the objections of the queen were rather silenced than overcome; and as a last resource she appealed to Marlborough, without the knowledge of lord Godolphin or the duchess, hoping from his congenial sentiments and attachment, that he would save her from so heartfelt a mortification. Her letter has not been preserved; but his answer will shew the strength and nature of her appeal, and will prove that he himself now found it necessary to combat her sentiments, and to resist the views of the tories, as the only expedient for continuing the contest against France, and rescuing England and the continent from dependence.

“Sept. 29, 1705, O. S. Your majesty has too much goodness for your servant, in but thinking of an excuse for your not writing. My obligations, as well as zealous inclinations for your service, are such as that you have but to command, and your majesty shall always find in me obedience.” * * * *

After adverting to his intended journey to Vienna, he proceeds:

“Not knowing when I may have the honour of seeing your

majesty, I cannot end this letter without lamenting your condition; for I am afraid I see too plainly that you will be obliged by the heat and malice of some that would not stay in your service, to do more than otherwise would be necessary. What I say is from my heart and soul for your service; and if I had the honour of being with you, I should beg on my knees that you would lose no time in knowing of my lord treasurer what is fit to be done, that you might be in a condition of carrying on the war, and of opposing the extravagances of these mad people. If your majesty should have difficulty of doing this, I see no remedy under heaven, but that of sending for lord Rochester and lord Nottingham, and let them take your business into their hands, the consequences of which are very much to be feared; for I think they have neither courage nor temper enough to serve your majesty and the nation, in this difficult time, nor have they any support in England, but what they have from being thought violently at the head of a party, which will have the consequence of the other party's opposing them with all their strength.

“As I am sure your majesty has no thoughts but what are for the good of England, so I have no doubt but God will bless and direct you to do what may be best for yourself and for Europe.”

This letter produced its due effect. The queen made no farther objection; and as the new parliament was on the point of meeting, the whigs were at length gratified with the removal of Sir Nathan Wright, and the transfer of the seals to Mr. Cowper, which took place on the 11th of October.

Soon after this change, the new parliament assembled. The primary question on the choice of a Speaker, evinced the decreasing strength of the tories. Mr. Smith, one of the most able, zealous, and honest of the other party, who was assisted by the influence of the crown, the interest of Marlborough, and the warm support of Harley, was elected by a majority of 43 votes, in preference to Mr. Bromley, to the great mortification of the moderate tories; who, though in concurrence with the crown, they opposed Bromley, yet wished for a more moderate party man than Smith, as we find from a letter of St. John to the duke.

“ My lord ; “ *Whitehall, July 27, O. S., 1705.*

“ It is a sin to give your grace any trouble in this manner, when you have so many of all kinds to torment you abroad ; but your grace is so indulgent a master, that your servants are apt to presume. Her majesty having been pleased to direct her servants to promote all they can Mr. Smith’s advancement to the chair of the house of commons, makes it too late to wish for another. It had been happy if that man could have been found, whom the whigs would have voted for, and who might have reconciled a great many of those people to him, that may cease to be tories, but can never become whigs. I am afraid there is a prospect of much struggle in the winter ; and I should be infinitely more so, if I did not live by faith in your grace. I depend upon your working some more miracles, to save us abroad and help support us at home.”

Harley, however, did not participate, or at least did not appear to participate in the sentiments of his adherents ; and he acquired fresh confidence by the zeal with which he espoused the new system of his patron.

“ My lord ; *October 6.*

“ Yesterday the parliament met, and a very full house of commons. Mr. Smith and Mr. Bromley candidates, the former carried it by 43 ; viz., 248 to 205 : the zeal of gentlemen was greater than their knowledge, which brought them up with so much heat, and to be headed by people whose chief excellence was Billingsgate language, which had no other effect than to expose them to the scorn of the rest of mankind. I do not question but with care and application several of the misled gentlemen, who acted not out of malice but ignorance, will be reduced to a better sense and opinion of the queen’s government.”

On this choice Marlborough makes a few observations to lord Godolphin.

“ *Vienna, Nov. 14.*

“ I am sorry to see that there is so great a struggle for the Speaker ; I hope it will be carried to your heart’s desire, by such a superiority as may for the rest of this session make the queen’s

business easy ; for I think Europe must be saved by England, and her majesty's steady resolution of carrying on the war against France."

The speech of the queen expressed the sentiments of the whigs, and reprobated in the strongest terms the principles and conduct of the opposite party. After urging the necessity of timely preparations, for prosecuting the just war, in which the nation was engaged, she added, " if the french king continues master of the spanish monarchy, the balance of power is destroyed, and he will engross the trade and wealth of the world."

Adverting to malicious rumours raised by the tories, particularly that the church was in danger, the queen inveighed against the propagators of such reports, as enemies to herself and the kingdom, and observed, " that they would best shew their zeal for the church, by prosecuting the war against an enemy, whose object was, the destruction of the national establishment, both in church and state." After exhorting them to lay aside divisions, she announced her resolution to favour those only, who should zealously concur in carrying on her good designs.

The addresses of both houses echoed these sentiments, announced their readiness to grant the necessary supplies, and testified their conviction that no peace could be solid and permanent, till the spanish monarchy was fixed in the house of Austria, and France reduced to such a degree, that the balance of Europe should be again restored. The news of these events gave Marlborough the highest satisfaction, and he announces with great exultation the effect which he expected the queen's speech would produce abroad.

Notwithstanding the sentiments contained in the speech from the throne, and the preponderance of the whigs, the tories were not abashed. During the short recess of parliament, they had laboured to raise a cry that the protestant succession was in danger, and on the resumption of the session, a memorable question was brought forward, which was calculated to embarrass the whigs as well as the two ministers. This was a motion made by lord Haversham, on the 15th of November, to consider the state

of the nation. In the course of his speech, he first adverted to the events of the campaign, and after speaking with affected slight of the passage of the lines, as a mixture of victory and misfortune, he magnified the subsequent conduct of the duke, with a view to throw odium on the dutch by the contrast. But the prominent object of his speech was the danger which threatened the protestant succession. After expatiating on this topic, he concluded his harangue by a motion for an address to invite the electress Sophia, the presumptive heir to the crown, to England. In his illustrations, he introduced a remark, which must have been deeply offensive to the queen, who was present at the debate, by recalling recollections which were calculated to excite the most poignant regret. "Is there any man," he unfeelingly observed, "who doubts that if the duke of Gloucester had been now alive, the queen had been more secure than she now is. We cannot think of that misfortune without the greatest grief; but yet we are not to neglect our own safety; and a successor, though not a child of the prince, is the child of the queen and the people." Buckingham, who took a share in the debate, did not hesitate to adopt the insulting remark, that the queen might survive her faculties, and become a child in the hands of others.

This question reduced the whigs to a delicate predicament. If they gave it their support, they would wound the feelings of the queen, and increase her antipathy. If they opposed it, they might not only offend the house of Hanover, but proclaim to the nation a departure from their own principles. They, however, met the question with manly firmness, and after an animated debate, it was rejected by a powerful majority.

But the tories were not deceived in the effect which they expected the discussion to produce. It created a deep sensation; and the electress Sophia not only complained to the archbishop of Canterbury of the lukewarmness of his party, but indirectly announced her readiness to accept an invitation to England.

To counteract the effects of this insidious proposal, and to allay

the displeasure of the Hanover family, the ministers and the whigs felt themselves bound to give a substantial proof of their attachment to the protestant succession. On the motion of bishop Burnet, which was seconded by lord Godolphin, bills were brought into the house of peers, to naturalize such members of the Hanover family as professed the protestant religion, and to appoint a commission of regency, to act in case of the queen's death, for the security of their succession. The queen readily sanctioned a measure which was calculated to spare her feelings.

The regency was to consist of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord treasurer, the chancellor, the high admiral, the president, the privy seal, and the chief justice of the Queen's-bench. The successor was to be proclaimed without delay, on the vacancy of the throne, and other members were to be added to the commission, by the nomination of the successor, according to a sealed list, which was to be deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and the resident minister of Hanover. The regency was empowered to conduct the administration till the arrival of the new sovereign; and the last parliament was to re-assemble for six months.

As this measure was really and effectually calculated to secure the succession of the house of Hanover, those who are ill acquainted with party feuds, may perhaps be surprised to find it opposed by such, as a few days before, had displayed unusual zeal for the protestant establishment. It was, however, carried in the house of peers, though not without a protest, signed by the violent tories. In the house of commons also, a captious objection was started against the meeting of the last parliament, on the ground that the act of succession disqualified certain persons, who then held offices, from sitting after the accession of the new sovereign. This objection was supported, not only by the whole disaffected party, but even by many among the whigs, from a conscientious apprehension, that a connivance in such a measure would be considered as a dereliction of their principles. Several

conferences were accordingly held between the two houses, and the bill did not finally pass without some disqualifying clauses.*

Three letters from secretary Harley will indicate the effect produced by this discussion in the cabinet, and the zeal with which the whigs supported the treasurer, by committing to the tower a member who reflected on his supposed correspondence with the exiled family.

“ My lord ; Nov. 16-27, 1705.

“ I will not pretend to give your grace an account of what passed yesterday in the house of lords, nor of the great storm raised by fifteen against the whole house, for sending for the next successor. I suppose we shall have the same attempt in our house, by gentlemen who would wash themselves clean by so impracticable a proposition. I doubt not but it will meet with the like fate in our house.”

“ My lord ; Dec. 22-Jan. 1.

“ Tho’ we want your grace to a great degree here, yet this last week hath been so great a week of storms, that nobody who loves England could be easy under the thoughts of your grace’s being within the danger of the tempest. At last we hope for fair weather and your safe arrival. I do not believe enough in astrology to think the stars create hurricanes in men’s minds ; but this is certain, that we have had much blustering in the house of commons, attended with the foulest Billingsgate language I ever heard. It was grown so common and so frequent, that it was necessary to put an end to it by a just animadversion, and this fell to the lot of Mr. Cesar, who in a long tedious speech of railing, had the words your grace sees in the printed votes† taken notice of, and he committed to the tower, where he is like to keep his Christmas, the house having adjourned this day to Monday fortnight, after the queen had passed the bill of four

* Journals, and Chandler—Burnett—History of Europe for 1705—Tindal.

† “ There is a noble lord, without whose advice the queen does nothing, who in the late reign was known to keep a constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain’s.”—Chandler’s Debates, v. 3, p. 449.

shillings in the pound, and the repeal of the scotch prohibitory clauses. The queen made a speech which your grace will see."

"My lord ;

December 4-15.

"When I consider the great services your grace hath performed to the queen and to the nation, the vast hazards you have run of your own person, and the prodigious fatigues you continually undergo, to serve the queen, to secure every particular man in the nation, and to exalt the name of Englishmen, and carry that higher than ever it was before ; these thoughts fill me with amazement at the great things your grace hath done, and at the same time give me the utmost pleasure, when I think how much I am honoured in being your servant. The long sitting we had this day, quickens my sense of the much vaster fatigues wherewith your grace's journey hath exercised you : and yet I find myself scarce capable of writing a letter, or to tell your grace that this day a proposition was made in a committee of the whole house (tho' it was designed for the house, in order to have the vote printed), to address the queen to bring over the next successor. It was suffered to pass off without a negative, and only leaving the chair. God forgive those who would not take a negative, when there would not have been 90 affirmatives. * * * * *

"But these are common incidents ; we must make the most of every body, even of those who think themselves cunning enough to drive a bargain.

"I hear the ill-intentioned in those parts (Holland) give a very wrong turn to the part of the queen's speech, which relates to the monarchy of Spain, as if that was to eternize the war ; when there cannot be a clearer proposition, than that it is the only way to a secure peace. If the honest people of Holland will not give way, they may have it quickly, instead of a rotten, whimsical barrier ; and they ought to know that England has a way of being secure, without giving so much attention to those projects. Your grace will forgive me this impertinence, and permit me to assure you that I am with the greatest duty, &c."

Although the attacks of the tories were thus turned on them-

selves, they soon renewed their attempts. On the 22nd of November, lord Haversham proposed an inquiry into the causes of the miscarriages during the last campaign, with the hope of casting an indirect censure on the duke of Marlborough, or of provoking divisions among the allies. But this insidious attack was repelled with becoming energy, and advantage was taken of the discussion, to vote an address to the queen, requesting her to employ her influence in promoting a good correspondence among the allies, and exciting the confederates to use their utmost exertions in prosecuting the war against France. This timely address produced a beneficial effect in Holland, where the partisans of France were active in disseminating reports calculated to inspire jealousy between the two Maritime Powers, as if each was anxious to sacrifice the other, by concluding a separate peace.

Not to interrupt the thread of the narrative, we have carried our account of the parliamentary transactions, to the period immediately preceding the arrival of Marlborough, who while these discussions agitated the public mind in England, was employed in giving an impulse to the negotiations, for the support of the Grand Alliance, at Berlin, Vienna, and the Hague.

CHAPTER 41.

1705.

Journey of Marlborough to Vienna—Interview with the margrave of Baden at Frankfort, and with the elector palatine at Bernsberg—His flattering reception at Vienna—The emperor creates him a prince of the empire—Letter from prince Eugene on the state of affairs—Complaints and pretensions of the king of Prussia—Success of his negotiations—Journey to Berlin—Pacifies the feuds between the king of Prussia and the emperor—Obtains the renewal of the treaty for the continuance of the 8,000 auxiliaries in Italy—Visit to Hanover—Letter from the queen, on the proposal to invite the electress Sophia to England—Conciliates the electoral family—Arrival at the Hague—Lukewarmness of the dutch—Complaints from Eugene and Wratislaw—Accomplishes the necessary arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of the war—Correspondence on the subject with Godolphin.

TAKING his departure from the army, on the 26th of October, Marlborough passed through Dusseldorf, Frankfort, and Ratisbon. He was hailed by all ranks, with the admiration due to his talents and services; and his journey, as in the preceding year, resembled the triumphal cavalcade of a hero, whose path was strewed with laurels. But ceremonies and honours did not retard his progress, anxious as he was to fulfil the objects of his mission, and to return to England, where his presence was ardently desired.

Passing from Dusseldorf, he and his suite were splendidly entertained at Bernsberg, by the elector palatine. This repast, however, was not a mere matter of ceremony; for during the visit of a few hours, Marlborough privately negotiated with his illustrious host, for the augmentation of his subsidiary troops, and obtained his consent that they should march into Italy, to reinforce Eugene, leaving the treaty to be concluded on his arrival at the Hague.

At Frankfort he had a delicate part to perform, in a meeting

with the margrave of Baden, who came from Rastadt to arrange the measures for the ensuing campaign. When we consider the jealous spirit of the veteran general, who had seen his fame eclipsed by the exploits of a younger and foreign commander, and the keen sensibility of Marlborough at his recent disappointment on the Moselle, it might have been expected that some symptom of dissatisfaction would have marked their interview. Two meetings, however, took place in the presence of Gueldermalsen; and the vigilant deputy, who watched them narrowly, could not discover in either any sign of displeasure, or even the slightest difference of opinion. The margrave was gracious and condescending, and Marlborough too prudent to give even the most remote plea of offence to a prince who bore so high a character as general of the empire. But a more intimate acquaintance did not inspire him with greater confidence in the promises of the german commander, whom in his correspondence he designates as one who is never true to his engagements, but always postponing his co-operation to "*la semaine à venir*;" and of whom he says in still stronger language, "I do not intend to oppose his project, but I cannot rely on what he says."

At Ratisbon he embarked on the Danube, and was conveyed in a splendid yacht to Vienna, admiring as he passed, the picturesque scenery which enlivens the banks of that noble river, and frequently calling to mind the milder beauties of his own country, which he again longed to enjoy.

On the 12th of November, he reached Vienna, and was complimented with the offer of a magnificent palace for his residence; but declining the honour, he repaired to the hotel of the british embassy, and took up his abode with his son-in-law, lord Sunderland.

At the austrian capital he expected to meet his friend and colleague, who had shared with him the glories of Blenheim; but to his regret, Eugene was detained at the army, by the critical situation of affairs in Italy. He, however, imparted his opinions and views, in a letter which contains much interesting information.*

* This letter is without date, but was evidently written in October, during the journey of the duke to Vienna.

“ I am delighted that you have undertaken a journey to Vienna, however inconvenient at this season. Your highness proves your zeal, and I doubt not but your presence will be very serviceable for the projects of the ensuing campaign. It is much to be wished that prince Louis could meet you there; but count Frise informs me that he is afraid his health will not permit him. I believe that he is inclined to act on the Upper Rhine. Whatever is resolved should be kept secret, and it is necessary now to arrange the operations, and to decide on the strength of the respective armies, the time of their taking the field, the recruits and reinforcements, and the establishment of magazines. The chief point is to settle, that none should proceed according to their own whim, but to resolve which army shall act offensively, and which continue on the defensive. These remarks relate to the empire and the Netherlands; as to this country, the measures which your highness has adopted with the king of Prussia, and those which you will take in your journey, with the elector palatine, are highly advantageous.

“ The first object is money, so necessary to carry on the war with vigour and effect. You will, my lord duke, judge on your arrival at Vienna, from your own experience, that a sovereign who is troubled with an intestine war, and has large armies to maintain, cannot supply all without extreme difficulty. The loan, therefore, is of the greatest consequence; and to compel by the fleet Genoa and Florence to advance large sums, is what I have repeatedly recommended. It only requires positive orders to the admiral. In this country it is absolutely necessary to form two corps, without which we can do nothing, and to use the utmost efforts in assisting his royal highness the duke of Savoy, and extricating him from his imminent peril. The general who commands in Lombardy should be able to act according to circumstances; for had I not been so warmly pressed to forward succours on the side of Piedmont, I should have profited by my success, to secure the necessary posts for maintaining my footing in Italy. The troops would thus have suffered less, and at this moment I should have been in a situation to do what I deemed most eligible. But when we receive daily letters on letters, stating

that all is lost, if succours do not arrive, and that Italy resounds with clamours for peace, we must hazard much to effect a junction, or draw the enemy to an engagement. The latter expedient succeeded. At this advanced season, however, my army is ruined, the horses worn out with past fatigues, no sure footing in the country, and the enemy re-assembling their forces in my front. Besides, the Venetians threaten to declare against us, if we do not quit their territory, and the princes of Italy join in this declaration, and are inclined to form a league for their common defence. The remedy is difficult, but must be found. If Barcelona is taken, surely the fleet with a corps of troops for disembarkation, may support the duke of Savoy, draw contributions from Genoa and Tuscany, and keep Italy in check, while the ministers of England and Holland strongly remonstrate with Venice, for the other princes of Italy are not worthy of a moment's consideration. At the same time succours of men and money should be prepared for this army, so that it be enabled to take the field, at the latest, towards the end of march ; for which purpose the magazines should be established, the recruits and horses for remounting the cavalry at hand, and the fleet ready to co-operate in the spring, either on the coast of Spain, or to invade Naples, which is without troops. I am much concerned that I cannot have the honour of joining your highness at Vienna."

At the same time Marlborough received a querulous letter from the king of Prussia, urging his pretensions, complaining of the imperial court, and throwing out threats of his intention to secede from the Grand Alliance.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

" My cousin ;

" *Berlin, Oct. 27, 1705.*

" I hope this will find you safely arrived at Vienna, and that you are apprised from my minister of state, baron de Bartholde, of the conditions on which I am willing to leave my troops in Italy another year. But since the ministers of the emperor do not seem inclined to accede to my demands, I must frankly declare, that however well disposed to continue the assistance

which I have given to the allies in Italy, and to give that proof of my zeal and attachment to the good cause, it will be impossible to do it, unless the emperor will satisfy my pretensions, which are so just and reasonable that they cannot be rejected without great injustice. And as without that satisfaction I am resolved to recall my troops, whatever may be the consequence, I thought it right to give you this notice, that you may take your measures accordingly; for I should be much concerned that as you propose to pass this way, for the purpose of concluding a new treaty, you should take an useless journey. Although it is well known to all, that I have to the present moment shewed an evident zeal for the interests of the house of Austria, and that the late emperor testified his gratitude to me on many occasions; yet I do not know whether since his death, the court of Vienna continues in the same sentiments, but true it is, that I have been treated by that court with great harshness in all my transactions.

“I hope, however, that your influence and representations will enable me, not only to carry into effect my resolution of continuing my troops in Italy, but also that the union and good intelligence which have always subsisted between the house of Austria and my family will be renewed.

“In referring you for farther information, to baron de Bartholde, I pray God, my cousin, to have you always in his good keeping.”

At the same time the king artfully availed himself of the troubles in the north, occasioned by the disputes of Sweden, with Poland, and Russia on one side, and with Denmark on the other. By his order, baron Schmettau represented the injuries which the prussian states suffered by the excesses of the irregular troops and predatory hordes from Poland, and appealed to the allies, in virtue of the secret article of the treaty of 1704, to interpose in preventing such disorders. He was ordered to declare, that if these grievances were not speedily remedied, the king would recall the greater part of his troops from the service of the confederates.

To obviate these and other difficulties, was the object of Marlborough's strenuous exertions, and he succeeded beyond his most sanguine hopes.

He was received with all the honours and distinctions which could be conferred on a subject. The emperor sent him his portrait richly set in precious stones, and with his own hands presented him a diamond ring of considerable value: but the homage which he paid to his merit and services was more flattering and honourable. Besides his public audiences, Joseph condescended to meet him, when he went to view the cabinet of rarities, and profited by that opportunity to express his sentiments with greater cordiality and warmth than the etiquette of court ceremony permitted. "Heir," he said, "of my father's throne, I inherit also his gratitude towards the conqueror of Blenheim. Your highness's services to the common cause in general, and to my family in particular, can never be erased from my memory, nor ever be forgotten by my family or my posterity."*

Joseph proved the sincerity of his professions, by creating him a prince of the Roman empire, and conferring on him the lordship of Mindelheim, which he had recently erected into a principality, for the express purpose of fulfilling the formalities required by the germanic constitution.†

During the short stay of Marlborough at Vienna, where he was detained a few days by a slight fit of the gout, he arranged the conditions of a new alliance between the maritime powers and the house of Austria, which had ceased on the death of Leopold; he likewise obtained assurances from the emperor, that he would grant fair and honourable terms to the hungarian insurgents, and omit no concession in his power, to extinguish a civil war, which had hitherto crippled his efforts, to the detriment of the common cause. He allayed the bickerings which had arisen with the court of Prussia, and persuaded the emperor to offer such terms as were likely to satisfy the interested and punctilious monarch. He was equally fortunate in soothing the jealousy which had arisen between the States General and the court of Vienna. He convinced the emperor that they would not listen to the fallacious

* Ledyard, v. 1, p. 525.

† For the account of Mindelheim and his investiture, see Chapter 43.

overtures of France; and as a proof of their zeal, he announced their ready concurrence with England, in the promised loan, and the intended reinforcements for Italy. He briefly, but exultingly announces his success, in a letter to Godolphin:

“ Their only hopes are solely on the queen, they being very much dissatisfied with the negotiations this summer in Holland. My journey hither has been of some use, in letting the emperor see that his affairs will not allow of his quarrelling with Holland, for that would only end in giving advantage to France.”*

Marlborough also listened to the insinuations of count Wratislaw, and privately engaged to remove Mr. Stepney from the embassy. He afterwards effected this change, in such a manner as to conciliate the imperial ministers, and at the same time not to wound the feelings of the british envoy, who was removed to the Hague, in the room of Mr. Stanhope.

Conscious that an immediate supply was necessary, to equip and forward the troops destined for Italy, Marlborough did not suffer himself to be shackled by financial considerations. In virtue of the authority with which he was invested, he not only pledged himself for the loan, but on his own credit, and in the name of Holland and England, he induced the bankers of Vienna to make an immediate advance of 100,000 crowns, for the more pressing exigencies of the service. He likewise promised to exert his influence in providing another loan of £.250,000 at 7 per cent. on the mortgage of the mines in Silesia, which on his arrival in England he accomplished.†

During this visit, Marlborough secured the friendship of counts Wratislaw and Sinzendorf, the active ministers of the emperor,

* Marlborough to Godolphin, Vienna, Nov. 14th.

† The french biographer of Marlborough has made a ludicrous mistake in speaking of this loan. He says that it amounted to three millions sterling, and that the duke subscribed £.16,000 even after he had given £.100,000 as a portion to one of his daughters, v. 2. p. 135.

The list of the subscribers to this loan has been printed, and may be found in all our histories and the periodical publications of the time, which a biographer of Marlborough ought to have consulted.

whose good will he had previously gained ; he also conciliated the confidence of the prime minister, the prince of Salm, with whom he subsequently maintained a frequent and interesting correspondence.

Having fulfilled his mission at Vienna, he departed, in company with his son in law, lord Sunderland, and hastened to Berlin, where his diplomatic skill and persuasive powers were equally necessary.

In his way, an appeal reached him from the States, complaining that the king of Prussia had recalled three of his regiments from the Upper Rhine, on the plea that the arrears due for their service were not liquidated. They acknowledged the cause, but alleged their multiplied expences, in excuse for the failure. As it might prove an injurious example to the german princes, and had already produced a serious disappointment, in preventing an attack on Homburg, they besought him to interpose his good offices ; and if he could not prevail on the king to revoke his orders, at least to induce him to let his troops return in the spring.

On the very evening of his arrival at Berlin, Marlborough held a private conference with the king ; and so completely accommodated himself to his capricious temper, that he entirely subjugated his esteem. He availed himself of the concessions which he had obtained from the emperor, to soothe the interested monarch, and persuaded him to renew the treaty for the continuance of the 8,000 men in Italy, and to replace the losses which they had incurred by the casualties of the preceding campaign. This concession, to use the words of the prime minister himself, was granted " as a mark of respect to the queen, and of particular friendship to the duke."

He was welcomed with the same ceremonies and compliments as on the former occasion. The king, who was far from prodigal of gifts, presented him with a sword enriched with diamonds, and lord Sunderland with a diamond ring of considerable value.

Marlborough found the prussian monarch so displeased with the States for the non-payment of his arrears, and so averse to suffer his troops to remain under the command of the margrave of

Baden, that no arrangement could be concluded, with regard to the regiments which had been recalled from the Upper Rhine. But though he could not soothe the indignation of the king, he at least suspended its effects, and did not quit Berlin without sanguine hopes that he should accomplish by letters, what he had failed to effect in person. This expectation was afterwards realised, though not without great difficulty.

His next visit was to Hanover, where he had to encounter new obstacles and new difficulties, and to struggle with prejudices of a different kind.

The house of Hanover, as presumptive successors to the throne, were naturally courted by the contending parties in England, and both sides strove to conciliate their favour, by mutual accusations and suggestions of lukewarmness in the cause of the protestant succession. These party machinations produced great effect at the court of Hanover; for the electress Sophia became a partisan of the tories, and the elector a friend to the whigs. In this temper of the court, Marlborough reached Hanover, at the moment when intelligence arrived of the discussion on the proposal made by lord Haversham, for inviting the electress Sophia to England. As might have been expected, he found the electoral court indignant against the members of administration, who had joined the whigs in their opposition. It was therefore among the first and most essential objects of his care, to soothe this irritation, and his zeal was quickened by a feeling letter from the queen, which reached him on his arrival.

“ Nov. 13-24. The disagreeable proposal of bringing some of the house of Hanover into England, which I have been afraid of so long, is now very near being brought into both houses of parliament, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness, for I am of a temper always to fear the worst. There has been assurance given, that Mr. Shultz should have instructions to discourage the propositions; but as yet he has said nothing of them, which makes me fear there may be some alterations in this resolution at the court of Hanover. I shall depend upon your kindness and friendship to set them right, in notions of things here, and if they will be quiet

I may be so too ; or else I must expect to meet with a great many mortifications."

Besides the prejudices entertained by the electoral court against the english administration, Marlborough had to remove a personal jealousy against himself, occasioned by the cautious reserve, which from delicacy to the queen he had hitherto maintained.

To give effect to his negotiations, and to conquer the prejudice which the tories had inspired, the first care of the british cabinet was, to transmit to Marlborough an official notice of the intended bill for the naturalization of the electoral family, and the regulations for securing their succession. The importance of this regulation was duly appreciated, and the notice itself essentially contributed to restore the members of administration and the whigs to the confidence of the electoral family. The rest was accomplished by the address and fascinating manners of the commander, who as seldom negotiated, as fought in vain.

Knowing the discordant principles of the electress and her son, Marlborough directed his principal efforts to conciliate the elector, not only for the sake of restoring harmony, but for the advantage which was expected from his influence in the empire. His representations were so far attended with effect, that he soon after announced his success in a letter to Godolphin.

" Hanover, Dec. 8th, 1705.

" The day after I came I had a very long conversation with this elector, who did not want many arguments to convince him that his and the queen's interest were the same. He has commanded me to assure her majesty that he will never have any thoughts but what may be agreeable to her's."

Even the prejudice of the electress herself seems to have been weakened if not conquered ; for we find proofs of an epistolary correspondence, and an interchange of presents between her and the duchess. The warm terms in which she speaks of the duke, though savouring of the courtly stile, yet shew that at least the appearance of cordiality was restored.

“ I think that after all the kindness you have had the goodness to shew me, you will be pleased with my acquainting you with the joy we felt in having had my lord duke here in person, and in having known that his manners are as obliging and polished, as his actions are glorious and admirable. I have testified to him the esteem I feel for the present you have made me of the queen’s portrait, which I prize much more than it is possible to prize that of the whole universe, which I send you in tapestry ; and for that reason I desire other opportunities of giving proofs of my gratitude and the passion with which I am, &c.”*

Indeed soon afterwards we find the purpose of the british cabinet accomplished ; for the electress herself not only disavowed an impolitic complaint, which had been made by Sir Rowland Gwynne† against the lukewarmness of the whigs ; but testified her perfect confidence in the sincerity of the queen, and her grateful acknowledgments for the care which had been taken to secure her succession.

After these successful negotiations, Marlborough flattered himself with sanguine hopes that he should meet with no obstructions at the Hague, where he arrived on the 11th of December.

Notwithstanding, however, the great and successful exertions of the duke in healing the disputes between the cabinets of Vienna and the Hague ; notwithstanding his precautions to ensure the advance of the loan, and to obtain the fulfilment of the promises made by the cabinets of London and the Hague, for the proposed augmentation of troops, yet their lukewarmness, tardiness, and jealousy suspended the execution of these arrangements, and he was assailed with messages of disappointment from the emperor, and reproaches from Eugene and Wratislaw.

* Translation from the french original in the Marlborough Papers.

† Sir Rowland Gwynne, who was resident at Hanover, wrote on the 1st of January an imprudent letter to the earl of Stamford, in which he bitterly inveighed against the whigs for opposing the invitation, and not only justified the proposition itself, but conveyed a strong hint that the electress was desirous to repair to England. This letter being published, was declared a libel by the two houses, and the printer fined. Tindal, v. 16, p. 200.

PRINCE EUGENE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

"Camp of Dec 2.

"I received your highness's letter of the 20th from Vienna, and I hope that you are recovered from your indisposition, and that this will find you at the Hague.

"His imperial majesty has, through count Wratislaw, communicated to me what passed during your continuance at Vienna, and has ordered me to send this courier to your highness with my sentiments on the war in Italy.

"All Europe knows its great importance, as well from the diversion it occasions to the french, as from the prodigious expenses it requires, without reckoning the 12,000 men which they have already lost in that country, since the commencement of hostilities. It is evident France maintains 112 battalions and 118 squadrons, in the territory between Piedmont and Lombardy, without including the spanish troops, and those that are stationed in Provence, Dauphiné, and the neighbouring provinces.

"It is an axiom that no breach can be made in France, except through Italy. This fact is evident, from the efforts of the king of France to support this war, and his comparative indifference in other quarters; for this army has never been diminished; but on the contrary, this moment is increasing with considerable reinforcements. The conduct of the french is sufficient to induce the emperor and the allies to follow their example, for the purpose of obtaining a solid and permanent peace, which may secure the repose of Europe; because France will never offer any reasonable conditions as long as she is in possession of Italy. Your highness will not, I trust, ascribe these arguments entirely to a zeal for the interest of the emperor, and of the duke of Savoy, as the head of my family; but rather to my anxiety for the advantage of all the confederates, and the safety of Europe, for which so much blood has been shed during thirty years in general, and during this war in particular.

"What, however, grieves me is, that in my opinion his imperial majesty is incapable of alone supporting this war any longer, as

he has hitherto done, by exhausting his territories of men and money ; although all these sacrifices have not been sufficient to attain that superiority, without which, war must be unsuccessful in a country wherein the enemies are in possession of all the fortified places, rivers, and magazines.

“ It is only then by a superiority of force that we can take sure posts, necessary for establishing magazines, and afterwards by pushing into the interior, act offensively with less expence, and form a junction with the duke of Savoy, to gain that superiority which will be the ruin of the french arms in Italy, because France cannot without that advantage maintain a communication with her own territories. Nevertheless, should not the maritime powers act in concert with his imperial majesty, I must advise the emperor not to lose a moment in withdrawing his troops, before they are quite ruined, and in recommending his royal highness to make the best accommodation in his power. I candidly allow that this advice seems extraordinary, but on considering the state of affairs, it appears the only means not to lose the whole. As to myself, I trust that on many occasions I have proved my zeal for the service of my master ; yet I must declare, that no consideration shall induce me to make another campaign like the last, in which I wanted every thing. I know at the same time that the emperor employs every exertion in his power to preserve his army ; but your highness cannot have failed to judge during your stay at Vienna, whether it be possible for a sovereign, who is embarrassed with a war in every part of his dominions, to supply the necessary expences, here and elsewhere, and furnish the requisite number of troops, without which hostilities cannot be carried on with any prospect of advantage. I therefore repeat my opinion, that as the only means of supporting this war, the maritime powers must grant a loan of £.250,000 on some secure funds, and reinforce this army with 10,000 men ; his imperial majesty binding himself to recruit his infantry, and remount his cavalry.

“ As I trust the business of Catalonia is now completed, it is also necessary that a squadron and troops should threaten the coast

of Nice or those of Italy, as well to save Nice as to cover Naples, and keep open the communications with Catalonia, as opportunity may serve, and also to exact contributions from Genoa, Florence, and other states. By this method I trust this war may be finished promptly and successfully, otherwise the emperor ought not to lose a moment in withdrawing his troops, and concerting with his allies where he may employ them to the best advantage. These are my sentiments relating to the war of Italy; but a prompt resolution must be taken to enable me to form my plans, and save the remains of an army which has for five years maintained with so much courage and firmness, such an arduous war, and which has infused terror into the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority and other advantages.

“In regard to the Rhine, prince Louis cannot act more successfully for the allies than by besieging Saar Louis, and advancing on the side of the Moselle; but his army is not sufficiently strong to cover the lines of Biel and Haguenau, and to make that siege.

“Here the campaign is as warm as in the month of June; the troops from the two camps not only cannonade each other, but even the infantry maintain a mutual fire from one camp to the other. The enemy attempted three days ago to force this fort; but I saved it by rapidly advancing with my dragoons, followed by the infantry. On dismounting, the enemy suspended their attack, and are now only parted from us the distance of half a musket shot, while we are encamped as we were.

“I entreat your highness to continue your friendship, and to accept the sentiments of veneration with which I am, &c.”

COUNT WRATISLAW TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

“*Vienna, Dec. 12.*”

“I learned from your's of the 3rd, that the treaty with the king of Prussia for the troops of Italy was concluded, and that they will be in Bavaria at the end of February; but I am much displeased in hearing at the same time, that no arrangement has been made for those of the empire, which will not only retard our

intended project towards the Saar, but will likewise alarm the powers of the north; and who can tell whether the king of Prussia may not take a fancy to interfere in the war of Poland, as we have certain information that he has opened a negotiation with Sweden, as well as with the czar and the king of Poland?

“ This messenger is dispatched to Holland to quicken the resolution of the maritime powers, in forwarding the succours of money and troops for Italy. Prince Eugene, I know, has notified to your highness the state of his troops, their sufferings, and the absolute necessity of succouring him, or withdrawing from Italy. This being done by prince Eugene, his imperial majesty ordered me to refer you to his statement, and to conjure you to write to him without delay, as a man of honour, and in virtue of your promise, on which we confidently rely. For after the relation given by count Guido Stahremberg, who is just arrived here, it is true that we require realities, and not merely hopes, without which, in conformity with the opinion of all the generals, we must recall the troops, to prevent their future destruction.

“ You cannot imagine the concern of his imperial majesty at finding that the first 300,000 crowns are not yet supplied either by England or Holland, on the confidence of which payment we wholly relied. We marched our troops from the empire during winter, when they could not be supported without magazines. This delay alarms us much, and fills us with apprehensions, that the negotiations for peace are in forwardness, and proves what little reliance we can place on the succours promised by the two powers, when the advance of such a trifling sum, which has been so often promised, and which ought to have been already transmitted to Frankfort, is not made.

“ These alarms so well founded, and the absolute impossibility of maintaining the war in Italy without your aid, compel the emperor and prince Eugene to draw the army towards the Tyrol, and to suspend, till we receive your answer, the march of the recruits; for to speak frankly to you, we foresee that we shall be obliged by misery to recall our troops. I well know the inconveniencies which must result from such a measure; but what can

we do, when we have no other resource than to trust to Providence, and to bear the cruel fate, to which our own inability and the negligence of our friends condemn us.

“The conduct of the hungarian chiefs in pillaging Austria, and delaying to give an answer to the proposal of either an armistice or of peace, sufficiently proves that they have no thoughts of peace; but are only intent to unite themselves by continuing the war, and to retire from that country as soon as they can no longer pillage. We have positive assurances that our troops have defeated them on the frontiers of Transylvania, and have effected a junction with Rabutin; and in my opinion, in the ensuing campaign, either by force or by an accommodation, we shall pacify the troubles if we can but hold out till the spring; for as soon as the troops arrive from Transylvania, and the fortresses, particularly Great Waradin, are supplied with provisions, we shall direct our attacks against them in a more vulnerable point.

“Do not judge by what I have said that we are not inclined to peace; for I pledge my honour, that we are sincerely desirous of it, and on conditions highly advantageous to the hungarians; and I would only infer from what I have said, that if we are supported one year longer in Italy, we shall be in a situation to support ourselves. To return to the negotiation in Holland, I cannot sufficiently express our concern and surprise in observing, that the emissaries of France are freely permitted to appear at the Hague. Your highness will recollect that you assured us they would be dismissed, and we gave full credit to your assertion, on which account we have not made any pressing remonstrances. But now, when we see them appearing in public, and that they no longer are concealed as before, what other opinion can we form, except that the negotiations are far advanced? We are not surprised at the silence of England; and what the queen said to her parliament may be as much intended to press France to finish the treaty, as to induce the States General to continue the war, and terminate the unfortunate negotiation which alarms the prince's allies, because each of them deems himself in a situation to imitate Holland in opening the door to negotiation; and we already are

acquainted with various intrigues of the german princes, who have followed the example of the dutch. Permit me then to observe, that if England is not admitted into the secret, and does not con-
nive at the negotiation, I must hope that the queen will take some public steps against those measures, which will be so injurious to us, will alienate all the minor princes of the empire, and will be followed by repentance when too late.

“ Our alliances declare, and our reciprocal interests require, that we should do nothing without general participation ; nevertheless nothing is communicated to us. Certainly this period is not fit for negotiation ; but if it must be entered into right or wrong, why are we not permitted to bring forward our own interests, as each person is better acquainted with his own particular interest, than with those of others ? and if we do not combine particular interests with the general system of Europe, the great power of France will swallow us up one after the other.

“ The abominable Treaty of Partition has sufficiently proved how much the dutch politicians were deceived, and how dearly Europe has suffered for their false principles. That private negotiation is the cause of all our present inconveniencies. The house of Austria was thrown into a fatal despondency, and she will fall into a still greater, if the same conduct is pursued. I will say no more on this subject, because your highness is fully sensible of its injurious consequences.

“ I will only add, that his imperial majesty has enjoined me to assure you of his esteem and friendship, solely relying on you to relieve us, by your communications, from this state of doubt and uncertainty.”

After mentioning the refusal of the margrave of Baden to repair to Vienna, at the emperor's request, and expressing the concern of his imperial majesty and the prince of Salm at this disrespectful conduct,

He adds in a postscript—“ I cannot conclude without frankly observing to your highness, that a prompt succour in men and money is necessary for Italy, or at least we must entreat you to be so kind as to tell us plainly that it cannot be granted ; for we

are in that case reduced to the necessity of withdrawing our troops from Italy."

These letters from Eugene and Wratislaw deeply affected the honour and verity of the duke of Marlborough, because they contained reflections on the conduct of the maritime powers, as if they had failed in the performance of what he had solemnly pledged himself to obtain, and as if the dutch were still engaged in open negotiations with France.

Marlborough accordingly exerted himself with more than his usual energy, in carrying into effect the arrangements which he had concluded at Vienna and Berlin, and in counteracting the insidious overtures of France.

Fortunately for the honour of England, and the credit of the duke, the queen and parliament had given evident proofs of their zeal and sincerity in the cause of the emperor. Besides liberal grants for the war in the Low Countries, supplies were voted for the augmentation of 10,000 men to be employed in Italy; for the same number in Portugal, and for 5,000 in Catalonia. In the course of a few days, additional succours in men and money were also voted, as the proportion of England for prosecuting the successes of king Charles in the eastern parts of Spain. The addresses of both houses also breathed the most ardent zeal for the prosecution of the war, and expressed a hope that the allies would follow the great and noble example set by the queen.

Notwithstanding the animating effect of this example, the british negotiator had, as usual, to struggle against numerous obstacles, arising from the tardiness and complicated forms of the dutch government, as well as from the machinations of the french party. He had also experienced great difficulty in arranging with the States the measures for augmenting the confederate army, in obtaining the payment of the loan to the court of Vienna, and in raising funds for the troops in Catalonia. We refer to his correspondence for an account of his embarrassments, and the means by which they were overcome.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

“Hague, Dec. 15, 1705.

“I came here last night, and do assure you that I have not been idle one minute, so that I might be ready to take the first opportunity of a fair wind, which makes me very much wish for the convoy. It is a great pleasure to me to see by your letters the good resolutions the parliament takes for carrying on the war with vigour. But I am sorry at the same time to tell you, that these people are so far from advancing their proportion of the 250,000 crowns for Catalonia, that they say it will be impossible for them to comply with what they are already engaged for. I have very much of the spleen upon this subject, so that I could say a great deal, but shall not trouble you till I have the happiness of seeing you, which I hope will be by the middle of next week.

“I send you the inclosed letter that you may see prince Eugene’s opinion as to the war in Italy. If we cannot help them, that army will certainly return, which I think would be a very fatal thing.”

“Hague, Dec. 25, 1705.

“The States of Holland seeing that there was no likelihood of my having the convoy before the next week, at soonest, the wind being at east, they are separated till Tuesday, without coming to such resolutions as are absolutely necessary to be done, before I leave this place, among which is that of the state of the war, which for the good of the service should have been done above a month ago. But the truth is, that every thing here is in that distraction, that there is no government. However, you may be assured they will go on with the war for this year; but as they pretend to want every thing, it will not be with that vigour it ought. I am assured that at their meeting on Tuesday they will adopt a resolution of taking some pretext for the sending one of their members to the queen, but the true business of his embassy will be to represent to her majesty their sad condition. If I should

have no news of the convoy by this day se'nnight, I shall be obliged to come in the packet boat, or be frozen up in this country, for at this time it freezes very hard, but of this I say nothing, fearing they might hear it at Dunkirk."

"Hague, Dec. 25."

"I have received your's of the 4th and 7th, and you may believe 'tis the only satisfaction I have in my confinement here, for want of the convoy, to hear that her majesty's affairs go on well in parliament.

"The States will pay their quota of the 300,000 crowns, which is very seasonable, as prince Eugene's army are much in want of every necessary."

"Hague, Dec. 22."

"You will see by the letters from Vienna, that the hungarians are far from being inclined to a peace; and I am assured that the elector of Bavaria has received a letter from Ragotski that assures him they will never make peace, but at the same time he shall have his country restored to him. I am also very much afraid of ill news from Prince Eugene; so that if we should not be able to support the success in Catalonia, the hearts of the people in this country would be broke. At this time I think they are convinced they have been abused, and that France had no intentions of giving them such a peace as they thought themselves masters of, so that this year I reckon we may depend on their going on with the war."

"Hague, Jan. 4, 1706."

"They have at last agreed to my proposal for sending 10,000 men to prince Eugene into Italy, so that there remains now only the consent of the elector palatine, they having found money for their part of the augmentation; so that I sent last night count Lechteraine to Dusseldorp. A copy of his instructions, I have sent for Mr. Secretary Harley; I have also acquainted the emperor of it, by express, that he might lose no time in sending the news to Italy.

"Hague, Jan. 4."

"Count Lechteraine is this minute come from Dusseldorp. I

send you enclosed, a copy of the elector's letter to me, by which you may see that I am in hopes to finish the treaty by Thursday ; for on Friday I will embark if the wind be fair, and leave instructions with Mr. Stanhope for finishing what I may leave undone."

Marlborough then prevailed on the States to advance their share of the funds furnished for the service in Catalonia, and to augment the forces in Portugal, that lord Galway might detach 5 or 6,000 men into that country.

"I am of your opinion," he writes to Godolphin, "that our first trouble must be for supplying king Charles in Catalonia, and prince Eugene in Italy, for which I am pressing the States to send more than 4,000 men into Italy, which I do not despair of obtaining. I am afraid it will be impossible to get the prussian troops to march back for Germany this winter. I have written to Vienna that they would lose no time in sending some person of consideration to settle what may be necessary with the king, so that those troops may be sure to return in time."

He arranged the treaty with the elector palatine with his usual address and secrecy. Convinced that if he demanded the 10,000 men promised for the augmentation of the italian army, he should not succeed ; he first prevailed on the dutch to consent to the march of 3,000 palatines, in the joint pay of the maritime powers. He next obtained from the elector an engagement for the service of 7,000 men then employed in Germany and the Netherlands. To these were to be joined 3,000 troops of Saxe Gotha, in the pay of the maritime powers, making a total of 10,000 men, of whom 4,000 were to march without delay. At the same time, however, to prevent a diminution of the army in the Netherlands, he secretly prevailed on the elector to supply an additional body of 3,000 men ; and the arrangement was embodied in a treaty concluded on the 6th of May. These forces were to be paid by the Maritime Powers, in the same proportion as the other auxiliaries ; namely, two thirds by England and one by Holland.

Marlborough also not only parried the pressing instances of

Buys for peace, but induced the dutch government to depute him to England, for the purpose of disavowing the acceptance of any overture from France, and for maturing the preparations and arrangements which were necessary before the opening of the campaign.*

* Lamberti, t. 3, p. 762. 767, and t. 4, p. 60. 62.

WILLIAM MARLBOROUGH continued at the Hague, maturing the preparations for the ensuing campaign, he with his friend Godolphin, was exposed to the most malicious insinuations, in consequence of the inclination which they had recently manifested, to coalesce with the whigs. This coalition was regarded by the Tories as a dereliction of their principles; and with a view to operate equally on the fears of the Queen, and of a large body among the people, who considered the whigs as enemies to the religious establishment, a clamour was raised that the church was in danger. This plea was advanced in numerous libels of the most virulent kind, in which Marlborough and Godolphin were severely arraigned, for deserting their former friends, for combining with the enemies of the church, and for assisting to defeat the bill against occasional conformity. Among the rest, "the Memorial of The Church of England," attracted particular notice, and made a deep impression. A single extract will suffice to display the tone assumed in this inflammatory production. "All attempts," observes the author, "to settle the church on a perpetual foundation have been opposed

CHAPTER 42.

1705-6.

Marlborough and Godolphin censured by the Tories for their coalition with the Whigs—Clamours on the danger of the church—Libellous publications—Discussion in parliament on the danger of the church; and victory obtained by the Whigs—Marlborough arrives in England—Thanked by the Commons—Prosecution of Stephens, the author of a libel against him—Change in the sentiments of the queen towards the Whigs; and unusual harmony among the members and supporters of government—Reconciliation of Harley and the Whig leaders—Anecdote from Lord Cowper's Diary.

WHILE Marlborough continued at the Hague, maturing the preparations for the ensuing campaign, he with his friend Godolphin, was exposed to the most malicious invectives, in consequence of the inclination which they had recently manifested, to coalesce with the Whigs. This coalition was regarded by the Tories as a dereliction of their principles; and with a view to operate equally on the fears of the queen, and of a large body among the people, who considered the Whigs as enemies to the religious establishment, a clamour was raised that the church was in danger. This plea was advanced in numerous libels of the most virulent kind, in which Marlborough and Godolphin were severely arraigned, for deserting their former friends, for combining with the enemies of the church, and for assisting to defeat the bill against occasional conformity.

Among the rest, "the Memorial of The Church of England" attracted particular notice, and made a deep impression. A single extract will suffice to display the tone assumed in this inflammatory production. "All attempts," observes the author, "to settle the church on a perpetual foundation have been opposed

and rendered ineffectual, by ministers who owe their present grandeur to its protection, and who, with a prevarication as shameful as their ingratitude, pretend to vote and speak for it themselves, and bribe others with pensions and places to vote against it." Nor was this accusation confined to the ministers: less pointed though not less injurious reflections were cast on the queen herself, for consenting to the removal of the tory chiefs, from the disgrace of Rochester, to the recent dismissal of Buckingham, who were held forth as the patrons and assertors of the church.

This libel was transmitted to Marlborough, in the midst of his operations on the Ische, but was laid aside till he reached the camp of Corbais. Notwithstanding the heavy chagrin which weighed on his mind, the perusal drew from him some remarks, in a more jocund style than his correspondence generally assumes.

TO LORD GODOLPHIN.

"Corbais, August 24.

"In this camp I have had time to read the pamphlet called 'The Memorial of the Church of England.' I think it the most impudent and scurrilous thing I ever read. If the author can be found, I do not doubt but he will be punished; for if such liberties may be taken, of writing scandalous lies without being punished, no government can stand long. Notwithstanding what I have said, I cannot forbear laughing, when I think they would have you and I pass for fanatics; and the duke of Buckingham and lord Jersey for pillars of the church; the one being a Roman Catholic in king James's reign, and the other would have been a quaker, or any other religion that would have pleased the late king. All these proceedings make me weary of being in this world; but as long as I can be of any use to her majesty, I will undergo any difficulties to shew her my duty and gratitude; and as I am sure you will never let any of these violent proceedings make you weary of serving the queen, be assured that I will not only venture my life, but my quiet, which is far dearer to me, to shew the world the esteem and friendship I have for you."

To the duchess, whose irritable temper could ill brook the lash

of public censure, and who on this, as on other occasions, importuned him with her complaints, he gave advice no less judicious than manly.

“ Tirlemont, Sept. 7.

“ I received last night a letter from you without a date, by which I see there is another scurrilous pamphlet come out. The best way of putting an end to that villainy is not to appear concerned. The best of men and women in all ages have been ill used. If we can be so happy as to behave ourselves so as to have no reason to reproach ourselves, we may then despise what rage and faction do.”

The cabinet at length found it necessary to check the licentiousness of the press. David Evans, the printer of the Memorial, was brought to trial, and being convicted of the offence, was fined and sentenced to the pillory, but fled from the hands of justice. By the same motive which suggested this prosecution, the whigs were prompted to submit the question, which created such clamour, to the decision of parliament; and they found a ready acquiescence on the part of the queen, who was offended at the disrespectful reproaches with which she had been assailed by the tories. With the concurrence of the ministers, lord Halifax made a motion in the house of peers, to appoint a day for inquiring into the dangers of the church “ about which so many terrible stories had been recently published ;” and the 6th of January was fixed for the discussion of the momentous question.

Lord Rochester opened the debate, and marshaled the charges advanced by his party under three heads. He argued that the church was exposed to danger, from the act of security passed in Scotland, from the failure of the bill against occasional conformity, and finally from the rejection of the motion to invite the presumptive heir of the crown to England. He was supported by others of congenial sentiments, in the same strain of argument. On the opposite side, Halifax and Wharton as bitterly reprobated the unfounded alarms which had been propagated; and Somers, the great orator of the whigs, after censuring the authors of such reports, as actuated by the basest motives, to embroil the nation at

home, and defeat the glorious designs of the queen abroad, concluded a manly and impressive speech, with an animated eulogium on the conduct of the existing administration. The motion was not only negatived by a large majority; but a vote was passed that the church had been rescued from extreme danger by William the third, and was safe and flourishing under the happy government of the queen. It was farther declared, that such as should insinuate to the contrary, were enemies to the queen, the church, and the country.

On the ensuing day the lords acquainted the commons with these proceedings, desiring their concurrence; and both houses joined in an address to the queen, soliciting her majesty to punish the authors and disseminators of the malicious reports which had agitated the public mind.

A letter from Harley to Marlborough proves that the moderate tories on this occasion entered with zeal into the views of the whigs.

“Dec. 11-22. On Saturday the commons entered upon the consideration of the lords’ vote, that the church was in danger. The debate was very long, managed with as much impotent impertinent malice as ever I saw. They were not spared by the other side, but were dared and defied to produce an instance in any of her majesty’s ministers, which was contrary to the public good and interest of the kingdom. They did not dare to divide, but upon the latter clause of declaring the reporters of such things enemies to her majesty, &c. and that was carried against them by above fifty votes.”

The reply from the throne was in perfect unison with the voice of parliament, and a proclamation was immediately issued for discovering the author of the Memorial, and the apprehension of Evans the printer. The proceedings which followed, it would be tedious to recapitulate. We shall only observe, that this celebrated production was traced to the hand of the Rev. Doctor Drake, and the prosecution instituted against him failed for want of attention to legal formalities.

The victory thus gained over the tories, was rendered doubly

gratifying by the arrival of Marlborough. He made his first appearance in the house of peers, on the 7th of January, and the same day received in person the thanks of the commons for his great services in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her majesty's allies. To the committee appointed to convey these thanks, the duke replied; "I am so sensible of this honour, that I cannot have the least concern at the reflection of any private malice, while I enjoy the satisfaction of finding my faithful endeavours to serve the queen and the kingdom, so favourably accepted by the house of commons."

He alludes in these words to a libel, published by Mr. Stephens, rector of Sutton, under the title of "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England," severely arraigning his conduct during the last campaign.

Although the author of the Memorial was not visited with the punishment due to his offence, the writer of this letter was not suffered to escape with the same impunity. He was seized by order of the secretary of state, and after conviction in the queen's bench, was sentenced to a fine of 100 marks, and to stand twice in the pillory. The prospect of this degrading punishment overcame his zeal; and besides a public recantation, which has been already printed, * he appealed to the compassion of the duchess of Marlborough, through the agency of a friend.

"Pardon me that I am troublesome to solicit your assistance in my afflicted condition, which I should make a shift to go through well enough, if the corporal punishment did affect nobody besides myself. But I have a wife who loves me with a most hearty affection, and is as well beloved by me, and she told me when I was coming last from home to London, that if she should hear that I were pilloried, she was sure it would kill her. And if that should so fall out, I know not how I could possibly bear it, and God knows what would become of six poor children.

"Methinks if you could prevail upon the archbishop of Can-

* History of Europe for 1706.

terbury to intercede with the queen, to remit the standing in the pillory, for the sake of the character which I bear (that is of a clergyman), it would be an argument of that nature which would not be opposed by any one about the court. Though the libel which I published was judged to be malicious in the construction and eye of the law, and therefore my punishment is so great; yet God knows my heart that I never bore the least ill will to the queen or the duke of Marlborough, in all my life. I am confined to the Horn alehouse, over against the queen's bench prison in Southwark, where I should be glad to hear from you, in my uncomfortable condition, being your afflicted, obliged servant,

Friday-noon. W. M. STEPHENS.

The duchess was moved by this appeal, and earnestly interceded with the queen for a remission of the degrading part of his punishment. The answer of Anne proves how warm an interest she took in the reputation of the duke, and the reluctance with which she exercised the royal mercy.

THE QUEEN TO THE DUCHESS.

Wednesday-noon.

"I have upon my dear Mrs. Freeman's pressing letter about Mr. Stephens, ordered Mr. Secretary Harley to put a stop to his standing in the pillory, till farther orders, which is in effect the same thing as if he was pardoned. Nothing but your desire could have inclined me to it, for in my poor opinion it is not right. My reason I will tell you when I have the happiness of seeing you; till then, my dear Mrs. Freeman, farewell."

The duke, though so deeply wounded by the scurrilous attack, was too magnanimous to cherish feelings of vengeance against the author; and left the vindication of his character to the offended laws of his country. Before the conviction, he observes:

"Borchloen, May 9—20, 1706.

"It is impossible for my dearest soul to imagine the uneasy thoughts I have every day, in thinking that I have the curse at my

age of being in a foreign country from you, and at the same time very little prospect of being able to do any considerable service for my country or the common cause. * * * *

“I agree entirely with you, that Stephens ought not to be forgiven before sentence. But after he is in the queen’s power, if her majesty has no objection to it, I should be glad he were forgiven; but I submit it to her majesty’s pleasure, and the opinion of my friends. I do not know who the author of the review is, but I do not love to see my name in print; for I am persuaded that an honest man must be justified by his own actions, and not by the pen of a writer, though he should be a zealous friend.”

On the remission of the corporal punishment, he thus expresses his satisfaction:

“May 20. I am very glad you have prevailed with the queen for pardoning Stephens. I should have been very uneasy if the law had not found him guilty, but much more uneasy if he had suffered the punishment on my account.”

From his arrival in London to his departure, Marlborough was, as usual, employed in making the military preparations for the ensuing campaign. On this occasion, he found himself far differently situated than in the preceding session, when he was exposed to the factious opposition of both parties. The high tories had wholly lost their political consequence; the moderate of the party cordially joined in supporting the measures of government; while the whigs seemed to possess the favour of the queen, the friendship of Godolphin, and the confidence of the nation, and had obtained a considerable ascendancy in the new parliament.

Already had Godolphin expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of the whigs, both in his public and private capacity: he accordingly now earnestly requested Marlborough to overcome his political bias, and coalesce with those who so justly merited his confidence. Marlborough accordingly announced his willingness to accede to the request of his friend, and coadjutor. In reply he observes:

Hague, Dec. 25.

“ I have had the happiness of two of your’s since my last, and I beg that you will do me the justice to believe that at my arrival you shall govern me entirely, as to my behaviour ; for I shall with all my heart live friendly with those that have shewn so much friendship to you, and service to the queen.”

The queen was highly gratified with the conduct of the whigs during this stormy session, and in particular with their manly opposition to the proposal of inviting the electress Sophia, at which she was greatly offended. Her gratitude for their support produced a temporary suspension of her political antipathy, and she expressed this change of sentiment, in terms of unusual cordiality to the duchess.

“ I believe, dear Mrs. Freeman, we shall not disagree as we have formerly done ; for I am sensible of the services those people have done me, that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them ; and I am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of others that you have been always speaking against.”

These expressions from one, who seldom retracted her opinion, indicate her high indignation against the tories ; and she also authorized the lord treasurer to assure the leaders of the whigs, that she would place her affairs in such hands as they should approve, and would do every thing in her power for promoting the protestant succession.*

On their part the whigs exulted in this sudden change of favour, and appeared disposed to merit the countenance which was shewn them by the queen and ministers. A letter from lord Sunderland to the duchess, speaks the sentiments of the party.

“ Hague, Dec. 11-22.

“ We have met with so much good news from England since our coming hither, that I can’t help, dear madam, congratulating you upon it ; for I am sure nobody has contributed more towards

* Conduct.

it than you ; nor nobody, I am confident, is better pleased with it. It is certain that the zeal and warmth the queen and parliament shew for carrying on the war, have put a new life into all those that wish well in this country, and have as much damped all the others, who were very high before. We expect with great impatience two posts that are due from England, in hopes that they will bring us the good news of some more defeats of the french in both houses ; for I think they are of as great consequence as victories abroad. Our convoy is not yet come, but expected.

“ Lord Marlborough both is, and looks as well as ever I saw him ; notwithstanding all his fatigue, which has been no small one, to go to Vienna, and come back, after a long and tedious campaign, and it is very fortunate for us all that he can bear what he does ; for without any compliment to him, he is the life and soul of every thing here abroad, and without him the whole confederacy would be in confusion.”

Marlborough and Godolphin seized this opportunity for realising their favourite scheme of combining all parties, by effecting a reconciliation between their new adherents, and the moderates. The great services which Harley had performed in persuading the queen to transfer the office of lord keeper to Mr. Cowper, his zeal in supporting the nomination of the speaker, and his exertions against the motion, for the invitation of the electress Sophia, had softened the antipathy of the whigs, and they seemed no less anxious than the general and treasurer for a more intimate union, with those who appeared to be actuated by the same views, and to differ only in a shade of sentiment, too slight to be discriminated.

A dinner was accordingly arranged by the two ministers, for this purpose, at the house of Harley. The company consisted, on one side, of Harley and St. John, and on the other of Halifax, Sunderland, and Boyle, together with Godolphin and Marlborough. Somers was also invited, but going to his country house, sent an excuse in terms which proved that he concurred in sentiment with those who were present. The entertainment passed with great spirit, and apparent cordiality, though the whigs could not refrain

from indicating the suspicions which they still fostered of Harley's subtle and trimming character. The anecdote will be best related in the words of lord Cowper, who was himself one of the actors. "On the departure of lord Godolphin, Harley took a glass, and drank to love and friendship, and everlasting union, and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in; we had drank two bottles good, but thick. I replied, his white Lisbon was best to drink it in, being very *clear*. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his, which was never to deal clearly or openly; but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, or rather simulation; and to love tricks when not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction in applauding his own cunning."*

Still, however, this slight indication of political rivalry escaped the public observation: and all parties were considered as actuated by equal cordiality and harmony. The political atmosphere appeared for the first time serene, and the prospect of domestic tranquillity seemed at last to dawn on a country long torn by faction. The whig historians expatiated on this happy state of public affairs, in the same exulting tone as is employed to celebrate the return of peace after an anxious period of war; and even the tories caught the same language. Smollet, after speaking of the thanks given to the duke of Marlborough, by the house of commons, continues:

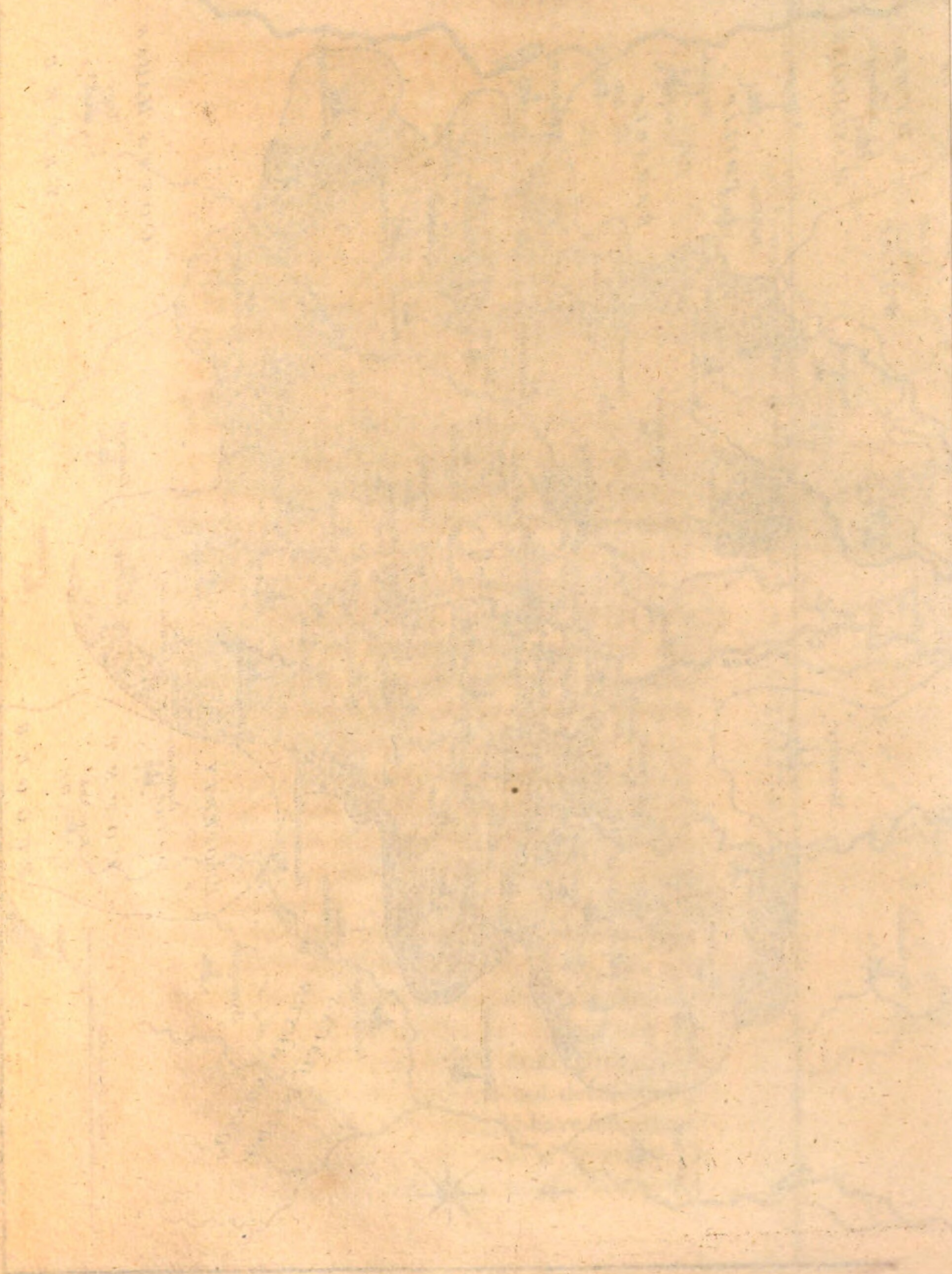
"This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty; the queen was universally beloved; the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war; the forces were well paid; the treasury was punctual; and though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad."

* Lord Cowper's Diary—Hardwicke Papers.

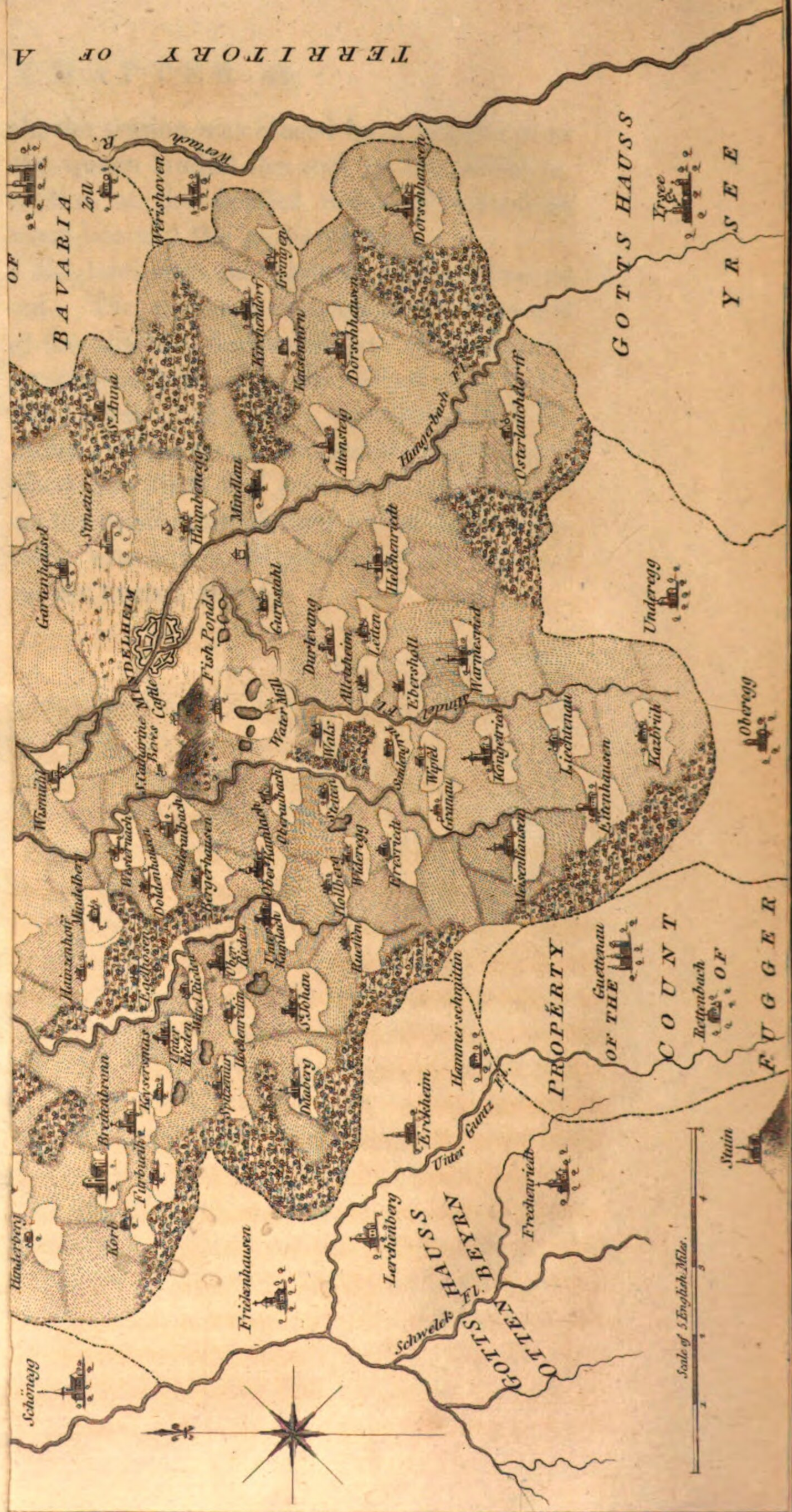
On the 19th of March, the session was closed by a speech from the throne, in which the queen lauded the zeal of her subjects, and testified her satisfaction at the perfect union of sentiment which had reigned between her and the parliament.

Marlborough quitted England with the highest gratification he had ever yet experienced. The collision of political sentiments between the queen and the duchess had subsided; the majority of the parliament and nation appeared to be inspired with his own ardour for the prosecution of the war; Godolphin and the whigs were for the first time in unison; his immediate dependents and friends had vanquished their fears and jealousies; and all parties looked up to him, as the moderator of their feuds, and the depository of their confidence, who had equally subdued the factions at home, and vanquished the enemy abroad.

REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES



WASHINGTON, D.C. 1880



CHAPTER 43.

1705-6.

Offer of Leopold to create Marlborough a prince of the empire, with a grant of Munderkingen—Declined—Resumption of the design by Joseph—The lordship of Mindelheim erected into a principality, and conferred on Marlborough—Historical account of the territory—Ceremonies of investiture, homage, and introduction to the diet—Description of the principality.

WE have already mentioned the offer of a principality, made to Marlborough by the emperor Leopold, during his march to the Danube, and renewed after the victories of Schellenberg and Blenheim. We have also stated his reasons for declining the proffered honour, till it was identified with the grant of an imperial fief, in conformity with the principles of the germanic constitution.

After much difficulty, the town of Munderkingen, in Suabia, was selected, as the territorial property, which was to entitle the british general to a seat and vote in the college of princes. But this choice was neither conformable to the greatness of his military services, or to his own personal merits. The place itself was old and dilapidated, and the revenues extremely scanty; for on an estimate made by the imperial referendary, the annual income was found not to exceed £.100 in time of peace; and in time of war, was burthened with the heavy charge of £.2,000, for the contingent. The fees of office, investiture, and introduction to the diet, also would amount to no less than £.6,000. As a gift shackled with such conditions was a burthen instead of a benefit, it was proposed to reduce the fees of office, and to obtain the consent of the circles of Suabia and Franconia to a special exemption in favour of the duke, from all charges and taxes. This expedient, however, was not deemed eligible.

The court of Vienna seem to have felt ashamed of an offer which conveyed a stigma on their want of liberality. Accordingly Wratislaw was ordered to represent to Marlborough as an apology, that it

was customary to grant the dignity of prince without any regard to territory or revenue; that the emperor held no property in the empire of which he could dispose; and as head of the house of Austria, only the limited domains derived from his ancestors, which were considered as inalienable. An offer of part of the bavarian territory, which was soon afterwards conquered, and about to be confiscated, was declined, as an invidious and precarious possession.*

In consequence of these objections, the affair was suspended during the reign of Leopold. Joseph seized the earliest opportunity of gratifying Marlborough, in a manner more proportionate to his services, as well as more conformable to his own feelings and dignity. For this purpose he selected the lordship of Mindelheim, a part of the inheritance of Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg, uncle to the elector of Bavaria, which had been appropriated the preceding year, by the emperor Leopold, in virtue of an expectancy, to the house of Austria. This demesne he offered to erect into a principality, in favour of the successful commander.

The proposal being accepted, Joseph by a patent, dated Nov. 14, 1705, conferred the dignity of prince on the duke of Marlborough, and all his heirs and descendants, male and female. This was accompanied with the permission to bear his arms on the breast of the imperial eagle, surmounted with a ducal coronet, "as a memorial to the latest posterity, of imperial gratitude and meritorious services."†

* Letters from Mr. Stepney and count Wratislaw to the duke, in January and February, 1705.

† As some misapprehension has arisen concerning the nature of these grants, and as the grant of the princely dignity has been confounded with that of the territory, we shall insert those parts of the patents, which relate to the extension of the princely dignity to the female line; and the limitation of the territorial possession, and privileges of the diet, to the male line only.

Extract of the Patent of Nov. 14, 1705.—"Nos te Johannes dux de Marlborough * * * omnesque tuos liberos, hæredes, posteros, ac descendentes legitimos masculos, et fæminas, utriusque sexus, in veros Sacri Romani Imperii Principes, fecimus, creavimus et extitimus, atque ad titulum et dignitatem principatus Imperii ereximus."

The German Imperial Patent of Nov. 17, after announcing the erection of the lordship of Mindelheim into a principality, declares that "the duke of Marlborough and his legitimate male heirs, on account of the possession of the same, shall be admitted to a place at the

On the 17th, by another patent, he created the lordship of Mindelheim a principality of the empire, to be conferred on the duke of Marlborough, and made it revertible to his legitimate male heirs. By a third patent, of the 18th, he as head of the house of Austria, transferred the new principality to Marlborough.

It may, perhaps, be gratifying to the reader, to subjoin a brief account of the history and possessors of this territory, and of the ceremonies of investiture, possession, and introduction, which followed the grant.

The principality of Mindelheim derived its appellation from a castle and town of the same name, situated on the river Mündel or Mindel. It forms part of the circle of Suabia, and the district of Algow.

In the early periods of German history, the lordship of Mindelheim belonged to the family of Schwigger, who were called knights of Mindelberg, a castle built on a hill, to the north of the present town. By this family the town of Mindelheim, if not founded, was enlarged and beautified, and endowed with a monastery, which in later times was appropriated by the jesuits.

The male issue of the Schwiggers failing in the third generation, Walter of Hochschlitz, lord of Kilheim in the Halde, and bishop of Augsburg, obtained possession of the territory, though by what right is not ascertained. Soon afterwards the inhabitants of Augsburg raising the standard of rebellion against their bishop, chose for their captain Frederic, duke of Teck,* who in 1372, conquered the lordship of Mindelheim. The prelate, in attempting to recover the town, was killed by a poisoned arrow, and Frederic retained possession without disturbance from his relatives. He built a castle on the neighbouring heights, to which he gave his own name of Teck. He resided here twenty years, and continued to

assemblies of the diet and circle, either by themselves or their plenipotentiaries, in the same manner as other princes of the empire, with the right of voting, and other privileges and prerogatives enjoyed by the princes of the holy Roman empire."

* The name of Teck was derived from a castle in the duchy of Wirtemberg, which gives the same title to the present sovereigns. The consequence of this antient family is proved by its matrimonial connections, as we find two of the sons espoused Bertha of the illustrious house of Este, and Anne, daughter of Casimir, king of Poland.

enlarge and improve the town. His son, Ulric, founded the cathedral, in which his ashes are deposited, as well as those of the succeeding lords.

Frederic left eight sons, who all died without male issue, and on the decease of the last survivor, Louis, patriarch of Acquleia, the inheritance was conveyed by his sister, Irmegand, to George and Bernard, her two sons, by Vitus, count of Rechtberg. George died unmarried, and the male issue again failing to the seven sons of Bernard, a new dynasty commenced in the family of Ulric of Freudsberg, who had espoused their sister, Barbara. He was a distinguished warrior, and promoter of the Suabian league, in the reign of Frederic the third. His son George is styled lord of Mindelheim, Petrisberg, and Mertzingen, knight and captain general of the emperor in Italy.

In 1554 the inheritance fell between the two sisters of George, Catharine, wife of Henry Otho, count of Schwartzenberg, and Paulina, who espoused William Kreut, a bohemian nobleman. By the marriage of Maria, only child and heiress of Otho, with Christopher, count Fugger, that nobleman obtained a share of the inheritance, and having purchased the remainder from the other sister, united the whole in his own person. A dispute, however, arising between him and the persons who had advanced the purchase money, a compromise was effected. The lordship of Mindelheim, with all the other possessions of the house of Freudsberg, was sold to Maximilian Emanuel, duke, and afterwards elector of Bavaria. He was confirmed in the possession by the emperor Matthias; but in consequence of an obsolete claim advanced by the house of Austria, the investiture was coupled with an expectative, revertible to the austrian family in failure of issue. It was afterwards conveyed in the same manner to his second son Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg.

During the dreadful war of thirty years, the possession of the town and castle was warmly contested, and they were alternately occupied by the two hostile armies. The town was thrice taken and pillaged, and the castle burnt. The lordship was, however, restored at the peace of Westphalia to the house of Bavaria. On the death of Maximilian, landgrave of Leuchtenberg, without issue,

in 1704, the emperor Leopold considered the pretensions of his nephew, the elector of Bavaria, as superseded; and appropriated this portion of the inheritance, in virtue of the expectative.*

From this deduction it is evident that the lordship of Mindelheim was held as an immediate fief, descendible to the female line, at least till it was transferred to the bavarian family. Hence attempts were made by the friends of Marlborough, both before and after the investiture, to procure an extension of the grant to the female line; but although the emperor had rendered the princely dignity heritable by females, he could not be persuaded to relinquish the chance of eventual possession, which he reserved to his own family, by the limitation of the patent.

The grant having passed the chancery, the ceremony of investiture was performed at Innspruch, the capital of Ulterior Austria, in the latter end of April, count Fieghers acting as the proxy of the duke.

With the permission of the queen, Mr. Stepney was then authorised by Marlborough to take possession of the territory, and receive the homage of the inhabitants. We here present his description of the formalities, as transmitted to his principal, soon after the event.

“ My lord ; *Lintz, 30th May, 1706.*

“ By a courier returning to the elector palatine, I gave your grace notice of my being got to Mindelheim on the 20th, where Dr. Haag, secretary of the feudal court in Tyrol, arrived the day following, with the patent and instructions, for the imperial commissioners appointed to put me in possession; and on the 22nd count Konigsegg (the first of them) arrived likewise, who by his easy dispatch, and by the good grace wherewith he performed his part, sufficiently made amends for not being exactly punctual in point of the time when he ought to have met me. As soon as he

* This account is taken from several original documents in the Marlborough Papers, particularly an Historical Deduction, and a Genealogical Table of the possessors of Mindelheim, accompanied with biographical explanations. We have also consulted Busching and the german historians.

gave me notice of his arrival, I waited upon him, and the same evening he not only returned my visit, but regulated with his colleagues the methods of immission, after I had sent them the full power, whereby your grace authorised me to receive possession in your name.

“Next day orders were issued throughout the country, giving notice that the ceremony of homage was to begin on Whitsun Monday (the 24th instant) in the town hall at Mindelheim, where, after divine service, the imperial commissioners (count Konigsegg, baron Volmar and baron Imhoff) seated themselves in arm chairs, at a table on the right hand of the hall, assisted by Dr. Haag, and then gave notice that they were ready to receive me, who placed likewise for me an arm chair before another table to the left, and I took Dr. Heyland by me for my assistant.

“The ceremony begun by calling in the *beampte*, or the four chief officers belonging to the principality, who have administered the revenues and the like, to whom count Konigsegg made a very handsome speech, ‘signifying to them the weighty reasons which had induced his imperial majesty to erect the lordship of Mindelheim into a principality of the empire, and to confer it on your grace and your heirs male, as an acknowledgment of the important services you have done his family, and the whole Roman empire, at Hochstedt, and elsewhere. And for the better proof thereof, he ordered the secretary to read to them the emperor’s commission, as also the letter of investiture, and the *gehorsam brieff*, or patent, discharging all the subjects of Mindelheim from the obedience and vassalage which they swore to his imperial majesty a year ago, upon the death of Maximilian, late duke of Bavaria; and afterwards directing them to take a new oath of homage to your grace, as prince of Mindelheim, and to comport themselves hereafter, in all respects, according to the injunctions they should receive from me in quality of your grace’s plenipotentiary; adding therewith a word or two of admonition, to be as true and faithful subjects to your grace, as they had been to his imperial majesty.’

“After this overture, Dr. Heyland, by my direction, first made

a compliment to the imperial commission, 'acknowledging the emperor's extraordinary bounty and favour, in bestowing on your grace so signal a mark of his beneficence, and thanked the commissioners for having so well discharged their part.' He then turned to the four officers, and signified to them 'that your grace having been duly informed of their honest and prudent administration, was disposed to continue them in the same, if they desired it.' Whereupon they presented to me a petition, signed by all four of them, humbly begging that their respective offices might be preserved to them, and giving assurances of their inviolable allegiance and fidelity. Then Dr. Heyland read to them a paper containing the duty expected from them; to which, they having given their assent, he read to them likewise the usual oath, which they repeated after him, holding up their thumbs, and the two forefingers of their right hands. After which, I told them in a few words, 'that I did not question but they would duly observe what they had sworn to your grace; and upon those assurances I promised them in your name all the justice and protection they could hope and expect from a good and gracious sovereign. In confirmation whereof I gave each of them my hand, a custom used in these countries when homage is paid.'

"Then the burghermasters, common council, and citizens (to the number of about 250), were called in, with whom the same ceremony was repeated, in the presence of the 4 officers above mentioned, who were ordered to sit on the bench apart, to give them more countenance and authority. The like ceremony was performed a third time with part of the *amanners*, or chief persons of the village, with some peasants, who being in all above 1,500, the rest were admitted the day following, at two several times. All of them seemed very cheerful upon their being assigned to your grace's protection. I have had the good fortune to meet with no manner of dispute or contradiction in the whole course of this business, tho' some people expected the bishop of Augsburg would have entered a protest in behalf of his chapter, who pretend to this lordship, by a claim of about 300 years standing, which, however, nobody from them thought fit to

assert. And the little surmises which had been scattered among the ordinary people, upon account of religion, were soon removed upon my appearance among them, particularly by the civilities I affected to shew towards the english nuns, and to the jesuits, both of whom have their settlements near the quarters which were appointed me.

“ All the time I staid at Mindelheim the imperial commissioners were entertained by me at my own lodgings ; and the first day of our solemnity, the four officers, with the burgermasters and syndic, were admitted to dine with us ; while the director of count Konigsegg’s chancery (as he is called), and my steward, did the honours at the town hall, where the other magistrates and council celebrated the festival. It was fitting they should have a share of it, since they consented to bear the expence. The rest of my time was spent in drawing up commissions, instructions, and rules of government, for the respective officers, to whom I have entrusted the administration, by particular acts I signed for each of them, bearing date, the 25th May, 1706, and confirmed under your grace’s broad seal, whereof I formerly sent Mr. Cardonnell an impression. In those papers are specified the salaries and benefits which each of them are to enjoy, wherein I exactly observed the regulation made by Maximilian, late duke of Bavaria, a frugal and wise prince, who from his residence at Turckheim, within 3 hours of Mindelheim, frequently inspected their accounts ; and thereby bred up most of them to be as honest, sober, and careful men, as are to be found in any part of Germany.

“ To keep to order and dignity, I am to speak first of John Joseph, baron d’Imhoff, to whom I administered the same oath which the other subjects had taken, but privately in my chamber, in the presence only of Dr. Heyland. He is the same gentleman who was recommended to your grace by prince Eugene and count Sinzendorff, and who, for a year last past, has had the joint administration of the country with baron Volmar ; which office he has discharged so prudently, that both the magistrates and common people seemed very desirous to have him continued, and a petition

was presented to me to that purpose, subscribed by a good number of them.

“Your grace will farther be pleased to observe, by the letter here inclosed from baron Hallden, chancellor of Tyrol, that he likewise is of opinion your grace can hardly find a person more proper for your business. He is a man of an active spirit, has an estate within four hours of Mindelheim, and I find he is in good esteem, both with the magistrates of Augsburg, and with the gentry in the neighbourhood. For all these reasons I have established him with the title of counsellor and *oberpleger*, or grand bailiff, and lodged with him your grace’s seal, above mentioned, to be applied to all public acts of authority and jurisdiction. At present I shall only mention some few heads of his instructions. A particular article is inserted, which enjoins him to reside for the most part at Mindelheim, for the better administration. He is not to dispose of any of the four *beampte* (or chief offices) without your grace’s approbation, nor issue any sums of money, exceeding 50 florins, without your particular direction. And in observance of what your grace formerly recommended to me (that a faculty might be reserved for removing him or any other officer from your service as you see cause), I have worded that condition reciprocally; viz., that if your grace shall judge any change necessary, you will allow two months warning; expecting a like term, if any of them have a mind to resign.”

Here follows an account of the salaries and perquisites of the different officers, which it is needless to introduce. He then proceeds:

“According to this establishment, the whole expence of the administration, both in money and other benefits, amounts to 3,564 florins, which (reckoning 8 to a pound sterling), makes £.445 10s. Whereas by the best guesses I can make, after having viewed their books of accounts (which are in as good method as ever I saw), your grace may expect a clear yearly revenue of two thousand pounds sterling,* excluding the appointments here

* This sum was rather exaggerated.

specified, and likewise the quota to be paid to the empire, wherein your grace is in no manner concerned, the subjects being obliged to bear that burthen by a repartition among themselves. This being rightly considered, my lord, I believe your grace will think the emperor's present rather more valuable than what it was at first computed. Upon which account I cannot forbear suggesting to your grace once more, what I hinted to you at Vienna, that you should take your measures in time, towards getting this fief changed from a masculine to a promiscuous one, whereby the possession of this benefit may be secured to your female issue in all events ; and I presume it may not be extremely difficult to bring this matter to bear, when I reflect what new merits your grace acquires daily, by your zeal and services to the house of Austria. But this and other considerations, which tend towards improving this grant, and rendering it more beneficial, will be more fully represented hereafter to your grace, both by me and Dr. Heyland, whose sagacity and experience in these matters deserve to be encouraged ; and I entreat your grace, to signify to baron Staffhorst, and even to the duke of Wirtemberg himself (if any proper occasion offers), that his services have been acceptable to your grace. He being an able man, and just in the neighbourhood, and may step over thither sometimes, to rectify any thing that shall chance to be amiss.

“ For future years baron Imhoff will send your grace an abstract of accounts every quarter, and remit the ready cash by such methods as you shall please to direct. But I fear your grace will hardly receive any benefit before January next, the whole product of this year being to be cast into a mass together, and then divided, one third for the emperor's use, and the other two parts for your grace's, which is all that can be expected, by reason that your possession does not commence till May, which month I shall endeavour to procure entire, tho' that proposal may meet with contradiction, because the act of immission was not performed till the 24th.

“ Mr. Cardonnell will have presented to your grace a letter from the english nuns, begging that a pension of 500 florins,

settled on them five years ago by the duke and duchess of Bavaria, and continued to them ever since by the late emperor, should still be preserved to them under your grace's government.

"They offered me a petition likewise to the same purpose, which was also recommended very affectionately to me by the said duchess; and I am indeed of opinion that your grace cannot handsomely avoid allowing them that pension, since any disposition to the contrary, in the beginning of your regency, may raise more clamour and reflection than the thing is worth. Besides their institution is very charitable and useful, and they have several other establishments in these countries, which are much esteemed.

"The college of Jesuits is founded upon a better bottom, having sufficient possessions of their own to maintain them, without recourse to your grace or others, for charitable contributions.

"The duchess has lately made them a present of her husband's library, which by the collection of Italian books, is pretty valuable. They entertained us with a sort of opera in Latin, celebrating your grace's heroic virtues, which a young count Fugger represented, with others of quality. This circumstance, with the letter your grace has received from the father rector, are proofs that the society are not sparing of their compliments, when they judge it to be for their interest.

"I have acquainted your grace in the former part of this letter, that count Konigsegg discharged his commission very much to your grace's satisfaction. He is of the emperor's privy council, and a person of distinguished quality; therefore in my humble opinion (besides the present I made him in plate) your grace may very properly honour him with a good copy of your picture, which I in a manner have promised him, having perceived in him a laudable ambition of transmitting to his family, by such a token, the remembrance of his having been employed in conveying to your grace this mark of the emperor's beneficence. It may be sent to Mr. Behagel at Frankfort, who will find means to forward it to

some of his correspondents at Augsburg. And I must farther venture to propose, that another copy may be sent to baron Imhoff, to be set up in the town hall, which I am certain will be received there with some degree of adoration. For I must do justice to the officers and magistrates, in acknowledging that no people upon earth could shew a greater zeal and good will than they did, in regard to your grace, and upon that account to me likewise, and to my family.

“ I was something at a loss how to deal with baron Volmar, who mightily solicited to have a share with baron Imhoff in the administration. But that notion not agreeing either with economy or good government, I had recourse to count Konigsegg, who privately disposed him to desist, particularly considering that your grace’s interest, as well as the advantage of your subjects, required your grand bailiff should reside upon the spot, which condition baron Volmar could not comply with, by reason of his other employment at Guntzburg. However, I promised him to promote his interest and pretensions at Vienna and elsewhere, as I see occasion, and I am persuaded your grace will do the like, if he has any thing reasonable to propose.

“ I shall not trouble your grace with a description of the city, otherwise than that it consists chiefly of a long, clean, well built street, with fresh water running in the middle of it. The grand bailiff’s house is convenient enough, having been newly repaired by the duke. Within half an english mile of the town, there is an old castle upon an eminence; but the building is run to decay, and at present serves only as a granary. However, the situation is such as might deserve useful improvement hereafter, if your grace shall farther obtain the benefit above mentioned.

“ This, my lord, is all I have at present to relate to your grace. At least if I have omitted any material circumstances (such as the homage which count Muggedall should have paid, or the like), I don’t question but they will be represented to your grace by doctor Heyland, whom I have obliged to give a separate account in French, and not to leave Mindelheim till he has both finished

that, and settled some small affairs which I had not time to regulate, being much pressed to return, because of the negotiation now carrying on at Presburgh.

“ I must not omit acquainting your grace, that the magistrates when they presented me the keys of the city, surprised me with a very handsome basin and ewer (worth 600 florins). This was contrary both to my expectation and desire, having no other prospect than the honour which I enjoy in serving your grace; and that I hope I have done to your good liking, having as I conceive omitted nothing which might tend to your glory and advantage.

“ I frequently offered to waive this present, but they urged it on me with so good a grace as rendered the gift much more valuable to me, because I was convinced by this assurance of their good will, that they were perfectly satisfied with my behaviour towards them, particularly for the service I did them by hindering count d’Offeren from being too oppressive, which he would have been, if I had not arrived in a lucky hour to put a stop to those exorbitant contributions.

“ The magistrates paid their civilities likewise, in proportion, to five of my domestics, and continued their respects to the last moment, by accompanying me out of town on horseback, together with your grace’s chief officers, about an english mile on my way.

“ I thought I was obliged in decency to pay my respects to the duchess dowager of Bavaria, who is your next neighbour. She is a lady of extraordinary prudence and merit, about 55 years of age, of the house of Bouillon, and (like the rest of that family) not much addicted to the french interest. She took my compliment very kindly, and desired me to assure your grace, that since his imperial majesty had resolved to take away from her this lordship of Mindelheim (which the duke had settled as a part of her dowry), it was a particular satisfaction to her to understand that it was fallen to the share of a person of such distinction, with whom she promises to cultivate a perfect friendship and good neighbourhood, not doubting but your grace will do the like.

“ Perhaps it may be agreeable to her highness, if your grace

should think fit to take notice of this civility, in your discourses with count d'Auvergne, who I suppose is with you in the army. He is one of her relations, with whom I believe she entertains a correspondence, and I should be glad she might know I faithfully performed the commission with which she honoured me.

“In my return to Vienna, I called at Ratisbon, to inquire what advance was made there towards introducing your grace into the college of princes, and I had the satisfaction to find cardinal Lamberg had not only received the emperor's requisitorial letter to that purpose, but had formed it into what they call a *commissions decret*, and ordered the same to be dictated to the diet on the 20th instant, by the director of Mentz; so that matter is likewise in its natural course. And M. de Schrader (whom I introduced to his eminence, as the person authorized by your grace to solicit and perform that part), has promised duly to inform your grace in what manner it proceeds, I am, &c.”

The next and most important part of the ceremonial was the admission of the duke to a voice and seat in the german diet, and the formalities attending the introduction of his proxy. When the question was submitted to the diet, the representative of the king of Prussia by all his votes in the college of princes, proposed that the grant should be made hereditary in the male and female line; but this was seconded only by the prince of Anhalt. The other princes contented themselves with a mere approval of the imperial grant, and it was remarked that the minister of the margrave of Baden gave no opinion, under the plea that he wanted instructions.* The circle of Suabia seems also to have made some attempt to procure an entail on the female, as well as on the male branches; for in the protocol of the circle, dated July 22, 1706, is the following paragraph:

“It is the general opinion of the assembly, that there are no members who would not willingly allow the imperial favour bestowed on this warlike hero, and deliverer of our country, and freely consent to his reception, with hearty desires that the princi-

* Letter from baron Schrader to the duke of Marlborough—Ratisbon, August 23, 1706.

pality of Mindelheim may long continue in the duke's family, and not fall again after his decease into other hands."

But the proposition being discountenanced by Austria, and not favoured by the german princes in general, the suggestion proved fruitless, as well as the attempts of the duke's friends to procure an extension of the tenure at the time of the grant."

The account of the ceremonial is extracted from a letter of his representative, baron Schrader, minister of the elector of Hanover.

" Nov. 22, 1706.—The count of Pappenheim, marshal of the diet, having received the imperial commission, arrived on the 19th, with a suite of 20 followers, and 13 horses. On the 21st the cardinal of Lamberg, principal commissioner of the emperor at the diet, sent to the representative of the new prince the decree of admission. The quarter master of the empire, Heberer, went the same evening to baron Schrader, to invite him to the congress and solemnity of the morrow. On the 21st, at ten in the morning, the ministers of the electors repaired to council, in carriages drawn by six horses; and the deputies of the princes in their best equipages. The guards were doubled at the town house, and each entrance guarded by six centinels. A dispute arising about precedence, the ceremony did not begin till after mid-day; when the different members being assembled in the college, the director of Austria proposed to call count Pappenheim, the bearer of the imperial commission.

" He came with the accustomed suite; and all the ministers rising on his entrance, he took his place, in a white habit, embroidered with gold, and a red mantle. After farther ceremonies, the director of Austria ordered the sub-marshal to introduce the envoy of Mindelheim. He rose, and, attended by the quarter-master and other officers, went to the commission chamber, where he complimented the envoy, and invited him to take his place.

" The envoy appearing in the college, the marshal assigned him his seat on the bench of princes. The ministers, who had hitherto stood, resumed their places; and the director of Austria addressed a compliment of congratulation to the envoy, in which he commemorated the heroic valour and meritorious ser-

vices of the duke, and testified his hopes that he would continue to pursue his glorious career, for the advantage of the common cause, and the benefit of that empire of which he was now become a member. The representative of the new prince having made an appropriate reply, was then complimented by the other ministers individually. He afterwards regaled them with a splendid entertainment, and the ceremony was concluded by a ball.*

It is not unworthy of remark, that the first public act in which Marlborough assisted, by his proxy, was, the confirmation of the electoral dignity, granted to the house of Brunswick Luneburg.

The customary fees attending the creation of a principality, and the introduction to the diet of the empire, did not amount to less than £.8,500 sterling. But from regard to the duke of Marlborough the emperor remitted his own claims, and promised to pay those of the two chancellors of the empire, if not voluntarily relinquished. The ministers of the Austrian cabinet also followed the example of their sovereign. The charges attending the Austrian investiture at Inspruch, amounted to nearly £.2,000,† but were diminished by favour to £.250. With all these deductions, however, the expences attending this accession of honour, including fees, presents, and travelling charges, exceeded £.1,500; as the duke, in leaving the payments to Mr. Stepney, expressly en-

* From the Protocol of Proceedings, and the report of count Schrader himself.

† We find from the documents communicated to the duke of Marlborough by his agents, and proxies, that the ordinary fees for the creation of a prince of the empire, amounted to 16,310 florins
For the erection of a lordship into a principality..... 31,512

..... 47,822
Exclusive of the fees for the investiture at Inspruch, and admission to the diet, which may be estimated at 20,000

..... 67,822
Or £.8,477

joined that due regard should be shewn to his own credit and honour.*

In transmitting a seal of the arms, which Marlborough was to bear as prince of Mindelheim, Mr. Stepney introduced the bell, the armorial ensign of the principality, on an escutcheon of pretence. He at the same time apologized for the omission of the family bearing of the duchess. But she was not of a temper to submit to this exclusion; and accordingly we find the ensign of Mindelheim supplanted by her own, in the public and private seals afterwards used by her husband.†

We close our account with a description of the territory of Mindelheim, transmitted to the duke by Dr. Heyland, who assisted Mr. Stepney in the ceremonial of taking possession.

“The territory of Mindelheim is agreeably situated; the air is healthy, and the soil fertile. It consists of arable, pasture, and forest, is rich in all sorts of corn, well stocked with cattle, and abounds with deer, and wild boars.

“The length is six leagues, and the breadth from three to four. It borders on the bishopric of Augsburg, on several lordships and counties of the empire, and on the imperial town of Memmingen. The clear yearly revenue may be estimated at 15 or 20,000 german florins, though the precise amount cannot be ascertained, on account of the uncertainty of the crops, and the fluctuation to which the price of corn is subject. To this may be added, certain seigniorial rights, particularly tolls and customs, which the princes of Germany levy on their people. The country also produces a small quantity of salt petre, which yields a trifling tax to the sovereign.

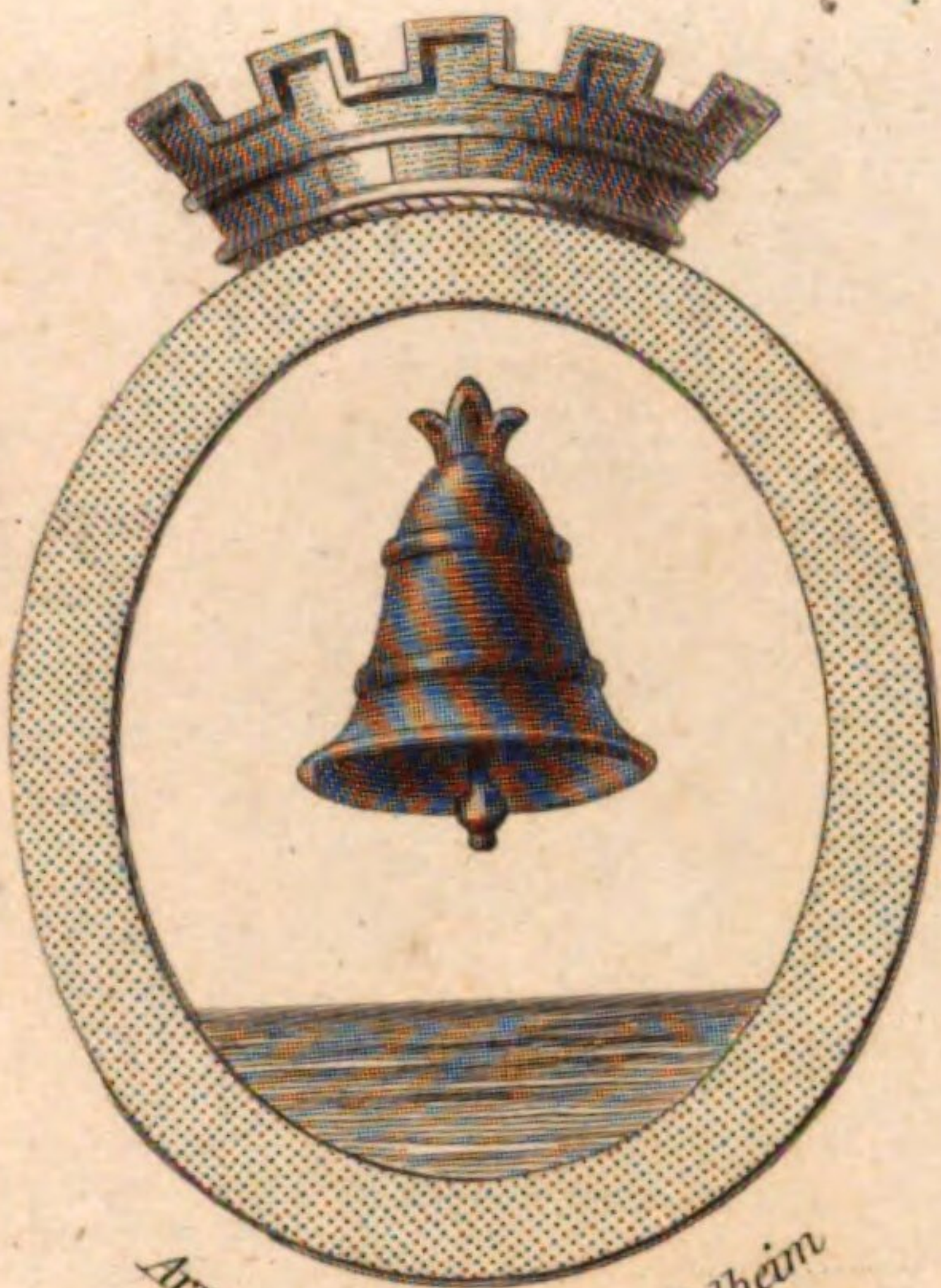
* Letter from Mr. Cardonne to Mr. Stepney, Hague.

† On the plate annexed are fac similes of the seals and arms used by the duke of Marlborough as prince of Mindelheim. That which exhibits the bell, on an escutcheon of pretence was taken from the original seal, ordered by Mr. Stepney, in the possession of the present duke. The fac similes of the arms of Mindelheim, the impression of the seal on a letter from the duke to the elector Palatine, and the grand seal with the mantle were kindly communicated by Messrs. Stuertzer and Samet of Munich, the first archivist, and the last herald to the king of Bavaria.

“The natives are industrious, and would be in good circumstances, had they not been exhausted by frequent wars. The greater part are labourers, or breeders of cattle, others are employed in making linen, which manufacture would improve, if they were better provided with hands; but for want of weavers, the poorer farmers are obliged to sell their thread, of which they spin large quantities, to foreign manufacturers. The wood which abounds, is rendered less valuable by the want of water conveyance.”

The title of prince, and admission into the diet, which was thus conferred on Marlborough, gave him no additional rank or precedence in England, but abroad it proved of essential advantage in increasing his influence, and obviating those jealousies, to which he had been exposed in his command, from the prejudice of foreigners in favour of high birth, and sovereign power.

END OF VOL. I.



*Arms of the City of Mindelheim
from 1360 to 1808.*



*Private Seal of the DUKE of Marlborough with the Arms
of Mindelheim on an Escoccheon of Pretence.*



*Seal to a Letter from the DUKE of Marlborough
to the Elector Palatine in 1706.*



*Arms of the DUKE of Marlborough
as Registered at Mindelheim.*

APPENDIX.

N^o. I.

GRANT OF AN HONORARY AUGMENTATION TO THE ARMS OF WINSTON CHURCHILL, Esq., BY CHARLES THE SECOND, 1661.



TO all and singular unto whom these Presents shall come S^r E^d Walker K^t Garter Principall King of Armes of Englishmen sendeth Greeting. Whereas our Sovereign L^d King Charles the 2nd takeing into his princely consideration the many great and eminent services donne unto him and his late royall father King Charles the first of ever blessed memory by many of their loyal subjects both in the late unhappy divisions and untill the time of his Ma^{ty} most happy restauracōn and being desirous to testify by some signall marks unto posterity the value and esteeme hee hath of their courage constancy and fidelity by

assigning them some such Additions and Augmentacōns out of his Royal Arms and Badges as may be properly borne for the honour of them and their posterities amongst whom his Ma^{tie} having taken especiall notice That Winston Churchill of Menterne in the County of Dorsett Esq. did from the beginning of the late unhappy divisions actively apply himself unto the service of his late Ma^{tie} and being a captaine of horse did with great courage and fidelity behave himself at the battailes of Lansdowne Rondway Downe Cropedy* * * * * as also at the seidge of Taunton and defence of the City of Bristoll and that for many years since he hath suffered both in his person and estate for his constant loyalty and is now a member of the ho^{ble} House of Comons. It hath therefore pleased his Ma^{tie} by his Warrant under his Signe Manuall bearing date the 5th day of December past therein reciting the above mentioned services and sufferings to require and authorise me (that whereas he the said Winston Churchill bears for the Paternall Coate of his Family Sable a Lyon Rampant Argent under a Bend Gules) to assign him by way of Augmentacōn upon a Canton Arg^t a Crosse Gules and to authorise him to leave out the Bend. Know Ye therefore That I the said S^r E^d Walker K^t Garter Principall King of Armes by the particular power and authority given unto me by His Maj^{tie} to that purpose Doe hereby give grant and assigne unto him the said Winston Churchill Esq. the Augmentacōns above mentioned with authority to omitt and leave out the Bend Gules and because it happens (as it doeth to many ancient families) that he hath not any Creast I doe further by the power and authority annexed unto my office of G^r give grant and assigne unto him the Creast hereafter mentioned, viz^t Upon an helmet proper mantled Gules doubled Arg^t and wreath of his Collours a Lyon Couchant Gardant Argent supporting a Banner Gules charged wth a right hand Argent the Staff Or. As in the Margent more lively is depicted w^{ch} Augmentacōn and Creast the said Winston Churchill and the heirs and descendants of his body for ever (bearing theire due and proper differences) may and shall lawfully use bear and sett forth togeather with the Coate of Armes as is above depicted at all times and upon all occasions without the lett or interruption of any person whatsoever. In Witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seale of my office the twentieth day of January in the 13 year of the reigne of o^r Sovereign L^d C^h the 2^d by the Grace of God King of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the Faith Annoq. Dⁿⁱ 1661.

The aforegoing is a true Copy from a Book marked R 23, now remaining in the College of Arms, London.

(Signed)

May 5th, 1817.

GEORGE NAYLER, YORK HERALD,
Genealogist of the Bath.

N.B. By mistake in the docquets of this Grant now remaining in the College of Arms, the Lion in the Crest is drawn *sejant*, not *couchant*, as expressed in the Grant, and this mistake has been copied by many heraldic authors.

* The words here are illegible, but one seems to be Gloucester.

N^o II.GRANT OF SUPPORTERS TO JOHN BARON CHURCHILL OF SANDRIDGE,
BY JAMES THE SECOND, 1685.

To all and singular to whom these Presents shall come Sir William Dugdale Knight Garter Principal King of Arms sendeth Greeting. Whereas our Sovereign Lord King James the Second, taking into his princely consideration the special merits and long and faithful services of John Lord Churchill of Aumouth in the kingdom of Scotland, one of the gentlemen of his Ma^{ties} bedchamber (and now major general of all his Ma^{ties} forces both horse and foot) as also y^e great esteem which their late Ma^{ties} King Charles the First and King Charles the Second had of the merits and services of Sir Winston Churchill Knight, father of the said John Lord Churchill, hath been graciously pleased by his Letters Patents bearing date at Westm^r the 14th day of May in the first year of his reign to create the said John Lord Churchill a baron of this realm by the title of baron Churchill of Sandridge in Co^m Hertford. To have and to hold the name state degree style dignity title and hono^r of Baron Churchill of Sandridge, to him the said John Lord Churchill and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten for ever; with all rights privileges preheminiencies and immunities to a baron belonging as by the said Letters Patent it doth and may more fully appear. And whereas it is an especiall and more peculiar right and preheminance belonging to the peers of this Kingdome to have certain Supporters added to their Arms for their greater hono^r and to distinguish them from persons of an inferior rank. Know Ye therefore that I the said Sir William Dugdale Kn^t Garter Principal King of Arms by the power and authority annexed unto my said office, and having had therein the allowance and approbation of his Grace Henry Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshall

of England have devysed and do by these Presents grant and assign unto the said John Lord Churchill and to the heirs male of his body lawfully having and enjoying the said hono^r and dignity the Supporters hereafter mentioned viz^t On either side a Wivern Gules the Wings expanded as in the margin of these Presents more lively is depicted Which Supporters he the said John Lord Churchill, and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten having and enjoying the said Title and Dignity may and shall lawfully bear and use at all times and upon all occasions, according to the Law of Arms without the lett or interruption of any person whatsoever. In Witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of my office this 27 day of July in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second by y^e Grace of God, King of England Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc^a Annoq. Dⁿⁱ 1685.

(Signed)

WILL^m DUGDALE, GARTER.

(Ex^d)

JOHN DUGDALE, WINDSOR.

G^r King, R. D^r Reg^{em}

A true Copy of the Record now remaining in the College of Arms, London. Witness my hand this 29th day of April 1817.

(Signed)

GEORGE NAYLER, YORK HERALD.

Genealogist of the Bath.

N^o III.

LICENCE TO GEORGE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH THAT HE AND HIS
ISSUE MAY TAKE AND USE THE NAME AND ARMS OF CHURCHILL IN
ADDITION TO THOSE OF SPENCER.

IN THE NAME AND ON THE BEHALF OF HIS MAJESTY,

GEORGE P. R.

George the Third by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Esquire Deputy to our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin Bernard Edward Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal and our Hereditary Marshal of England Greeting. Whereas our right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin George Spencer Duke of Marlborough Marquess of Blandford Earl of Sunderland and Marlborough Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, Baron Churchill of Sandridge and a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire hath by his Petition humbly represented unto Us that his great grandfather Charles Spencer Earl of Sunderland and Baron Spencer of Wormleighton Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter intermarried with Anne second daughter and coheir of that illustrious hero John Churchill Duke of Marlborough Marquess of Blandford Earl of Marlborough Baron Churchill of Sandridge Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, that by an Act of Parliament made in the third and fourth years of the reign of our predecessor Queen Anne, in order to perpetuate the memory of the glorious victories obtained by the forces of her Majesty and her allies under the command of the said John Duke of Marlborough and the eminent and unparalleled services performed by the said Duke, it was enacted that the Honour and Manor of Woodstock and Hundred of Wootton should be granted to him and to his heirs to be held of the Crown in fee and common soccage by fealty rendering on the 2nd day of August in every year for ever, one Standard or Colour with three Fleur de Lis painted thereupon; and by a further Act of Parliament made in the fifth year of the reign of her aforesaid Majesty in order that the name and titles of the said Duke might be continued to all his posterity, it was enacted that the dignities titles and honours of Duke of Marlborough Marquess of Blandford Earl of Marlborough and Baron Churchill should be limited to the eldest daughter of the said duke and the heirs male of her body, and in default thereof to all his other daughters successively according to their priorities of birth and the heirs male of their respective bodies and that the Honour and Manor of Woodstock the House of Blenheim and other lands should be annexed to and descend with the said honours and dignities, that his Majesty King George the First was graciously pleased by warrant under his Royal Signet and Sign Manual bearing date the nineteenth day of July 1722, to command that the standard or colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock should be set forth and blazoned in the following manner that is to say Azure three flowers de Lis Or in a shield placed by way of Inescutcheon on the Cross of St. George according to the draft thereunto annexed And that the same should be thenceforward borne either in a Shield Standard or Banner as belonging to the said Honour and Manor of Woodstock which said

Banner was accordingly borne and used in obedience to the said royal command, at the funeral of the said John Duke of Marlborough solemnized in Westminster Abbey on the ninth day of August in the same year That on the decease of the said John Duke of Marlborough the aforesaid honours and dignities descended to his eldest daughter, Henrietta Countess of Godolphin, who thereupon became Duchess of Marlborough, &c. That upon her decease without surviving male issue on or about the twenty-fourth day of October 1733 the aforesaid dignities devolved upon the Petitioner's grandfather Charles Earl of Sunderland together with the said Honour and Manor of Woodstock and the House of Blenheim, and from his said grandfather they have passed together with the aforesaid dignity of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in a regular course of descent to the Petitioner. That the Petitioner being anxious to perpetuate in his family a surname to which his illustrious ancestor John Duke of Marlborough by a long series of heroic and transcendant achievements added such imperishable lustre is desirous with our gracious permission to take and henceforth use the surname of Churchill in addition to that of Spencer to bear the arms of Churchill quarterly in the first quarter with his Paternal Arms together with a representation of the Bearings on the Standard or Colours granted by the aforesaid Warrant of his Majesty King George the First as belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock in an Inescutcheon over all in the Centre Chief Point and also henceforward to bear and use the Supporters borne and used by the said John Duke of Marlborough The Petitioner therefore most humbly prays our Royal Licence and Authority that he and his issue may henceforth take and use the Surname of Churchill in addition to and after that of Spencer that he and they may bear the arms of Churchill quarterly in the first quarter with the Arms of Spencer together with a representation of the Bearings on the Standard or Colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock in an Inescutcheon over all in the Centre Chief Point and that the Petitioner and his descendants upon whom the aforesaid dignities and honours of Duke of Marlborough &c^a shall devolve may bear and use the Supporters borne and used by his said illustrious ancestor John the first Duke of Marlborough, in lieu of the Supporters hitherto borne by the Petitioner. Know Ye that We of our princely grace and special favour have given and granted and by these Presents do give and grant unto him the said George Duke of Marlborough our Royal Licence and Authority that he and his issue may henceforth take and use the Surname of Churchill in addition to and after that of Spencer that he and they may bear the Arms of Churchill quarterly, in the first quarter with the Arms of Spencer, together with a representation of the bearings on the Standard or Colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock in an Inescutcheon over all in the Centre Chief Point and that the Petitioner and his Descendants upon whom the aforesaid dignities and honours of Duke of Marlborough &c^a shall devolve may bear and use the Supporters borne and used by his said illustrious Ancestor John the first Duke of Marlborough in lieu of the Supporters hitherto borne by the Petitioner such Arms being first duly exemplified according to the Laws of Arms and recorded in the Herald's Office, otherwise this our Licence and Permission to be void and of none effect Our will and pleasure therefore is that you Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux Esquire Deputy to our said Earl Marshal to whom the cognizance of matters of this nature doth properly belong do require and command that this our concession and declaration be recorded in our College of Arms to the end that our officers of Arms and all others upon

occasion may take full notice have knowledge thereof and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Carleton House the twenty-sixth day of May 1817 in the fifty-seventh year of our reign.

By Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in the Name
and on the Behalf of His Majesty

(Signed)

SIDMOUTH.

The above is a true Copy from the original Royal Warrant now remaining in my possession.

(Signed)

GEORGE NAYLER, YORK HERALD,

Genealogist of the Bath.

College of Arms, London, 2nd July, 1817.



END OF VOL. I.

By Command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in the Name
and on the Behalf of His Majesty

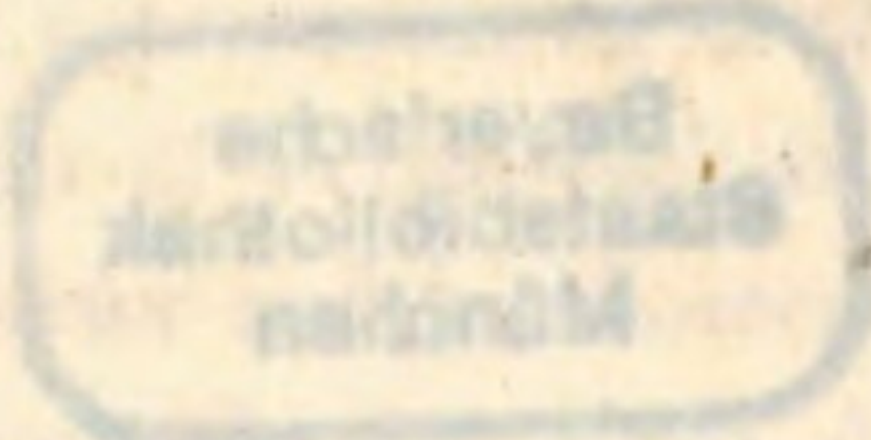
(Signed) SIDMOUTH

The above is a true Copy from the original Royal Warrant now remaining in my

(Signed) GEORGE KAYLER, York Herald

Georgian Herald of the Bath

and College of Arms, London, 2nd July 1817.



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Coxe, William,

Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough with his original correspondence ;
collected from the family records at Blenheim and other authentic sources

Bd.: 1

London (1818)

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